Excavating Histories of the Present in "GT"

A Dissertation

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supporting me, never stopped loving me. Lucky doesn't begin to describe the fortune that brought you to me.

Dedication

To the antiracist educators who courageously struggle to disrupt inequitable and racist systems each and every day.

Abstract

It is widely understood that gifted education is inequitable: since its inception, the vast majority of students receiving gifted education services have been white, middle to upper class, and native English speakers (Ford, 1998; Ford & King, 2014; Ford et al., 2020; Yoon & Gentry, 2009). Such students are often labeled as "gifted and talented" and usually receive exclusive benefits and resources, including access to enriched and rigorous coursework (Callahan et al., 2014; Office of Civil Rights, 2012). Some scholars and social justice advocates have concerned themselves with desegregating gifted education (Brulles, et al., 2011; Castellano, 2004, 2006; Ford, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2010a, 2010b), fighting for equitable gifted identification protocols that would increase access to gifted services among underrepresented student populations. Others argue that gifted education functions as racialized tracking and should be dismantled (Barlow & Dunbar, 2010; Mansfield, 2015; Oakes et al., 2012). Regardless of the stance, gifted education represents a politically polarizing component of public education and a key battleground for equity.

Yet the history of scientific racism and eugenics within the field of gifted education has remained both obscure and marginalized, especially regarding its relevance to contemporary inequities and systemic racism. The founders of the field, such as Francis Galton (1865, 1873, 1883, 1922/1869), Lewis Terman (1916, 1922a, 1922b; 1925a; Terman et al., 1926, 1930, 1947, 1959) and Leta Hollingworth (1923, 1926, 1929, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940) established the foundational epistemologies, ontologies, and theories related to gifted education; they also seeded the field with racist, hegemonic and eugenic conceptualizations of human intelligence, academic potential, and

educational policy. Furthermore, Terman, Hollingworth, and their eugenicist colleagues designed many of the structures, processes and instructional practices of gifted education still commonly applied today. These include such familiar features of gifted education as the quantification of mental ability through mental testing for gifted identification and services; the provision of separate, tracked spaces for the education of students identified as gifted; and the tacit understanding that giftedness is innate and heritable. Furthermore, the racial hierarchy of intelligence that these founders thoroughly articulated in their many publications continues to be reified through the seemingly intractable overrepresentation of white students and the segregating effects of racialized tracking produced by gifted programming and advanced academics (Ford, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2010b, 2014; Ford et al., 2020; Tyson, 2011, 2013).

These effects were evident in Greenfield Public Schools, a small suburban school district in the Midwest with a history of racialized tracking in gifted education and advanced academics. This district undertook a racial equity transformation process, which prompted them to interrogate and ultimately, to detrack their gifted services. I conducted research on the local history and racial equity transformation process of Greenfield Public Schools through an interdisciplinary process that combined critical ethnography (Castagno, 2012; Conquergood, 1982; Foley, 2002; Madison, 2020) with critical historical research (Klienberg et al, 2018; Villaverde, 2006). I used a genealogical approach to the history of eugenics and scientific racism in gifted education by relating qualitative themes from the ethnographic context to evidence exhumed from the historical archive. Specifically, I sought to create a history of the present (Foucault, 1995) which encompasses the durability of sociohistorically rooted ideologies in order to

interrogate the living presence of the history of gifted education in a contemporary educational context of racial inequity and the struggle to dismantle oppressive systems.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

"We are dismantling a system where white children have been on top. We need to stand firmly in our beliefs on that as racial equity warriors and leaders" (Fieldnotes, December 17, 2020). In one of eight tiny squares on a screen, Gale, a Black woman, former teacher, and equity coach, discussed the future of the gifted and talented (GT) program in her school district. She went on, "It's ok if we may not be liked, as long as we are respected… To live out our mission fully is messy and uncomfortable."

It was a frosty winter day and I was holed up in my attic-like office space, home base for my work throughout the Covid-19 pandemic. My dim room was illuminated by the light of my computer screen as snow silently accumulated on the windowsill. Seven educators from Greenfield Public Schools, a small suburban school district in the Midwest, sat on this virtual Zoom conference. I surveyed their serious faces in the little squares on my laptop screen, as some nodded and others looked down. Gale went on, "I am so used to going with the status quo throughout my career and I realize now how much that protects and upholds the status quo of whiteness." She frowned a little and then looked directly into her camera, "It is now time to move into action. What's keeping us from moving into action around this?"

These educators had been grappling for a long time with the problems of inequity in their GT program. Half the students in Greenfield Public Schools were kids of color, but the vast majority of students included in GT and advanced academic programs were white. Although they had tried changing the identification protocols and processes to include more students of color, the GT and advanced academic classrooms continued to

function as segregated spaces, with only a few kids of color participating among the vast majority of white students present. Under new district leadership, their charge was now to create a racial equity transformation that would fully interrupt years of underrepresentation in GT and advanced academics.

One of the district administrators spoke up, “There is such a thing as the permanence of racism and we can approach things in such a way so that we are building for eternity.” He added, “(We) will continue to stand out in front as we interrupt segregating spaces in our community.” The group understood the goal and their responsibility to meet it, but they were unsure of how to act. One of the educators spoke up, “I hear lots of visions but I don’t know which path to follow. I know which way I’d want to go but I don’t know if that’s what we are being asked to do.” Another expressed worries about what would happen if the GT program was fundamentally revised, “What we don’t want are those white families to take things down. Just jumping into action and believing that my intent is good is not enough to make us successful.” They had seen antiracist reforms interrupted in the past by powerful white stakeholders, and they were concerned that if they didn’t approach this work in the right way, all of their efforts would be undermined.

Another administrator asked, “Where do you find the interest convergence in this with white parents who might feel like something is being taken away from them, so that they see benefit in this for their child. How do we communicate that?” Another added,

> I go back to building coalition with parents. I think about the elementary parents. What are they hoping to get from GT? What is it that their kids are getting? I

think part of this narrative that's important is the notion that if they don't get into GT in the elementary school then they might not get the support they need.

As the conversation went on, it became clear to me that the group was leaning into dismantlement. I thought to myself that they were right to be concerned. The news had lately been filled with controversies surrounding inequities in gifted and talented education and community stakeholders (often white and/or wealthier families) had brought legal suits and other political action against districts that tried to eliminate GT and advanced programming in the name of equity (e.g., Bazzaz, 2019, 2020; Einhorn, 2019; Natanson, 2020; Tucker, 2015) and the literature on tracking was filled with such examples (e.g., Barlow & Dunbar, 2010; Oakes et al., 1997; Wells & Serna, 1996). Yet, at this meeting of multiracial educators, the sense of determination was building; those present seemed to be grounding themselves in their collective antiracist commitments, preparing for a long road ahead.

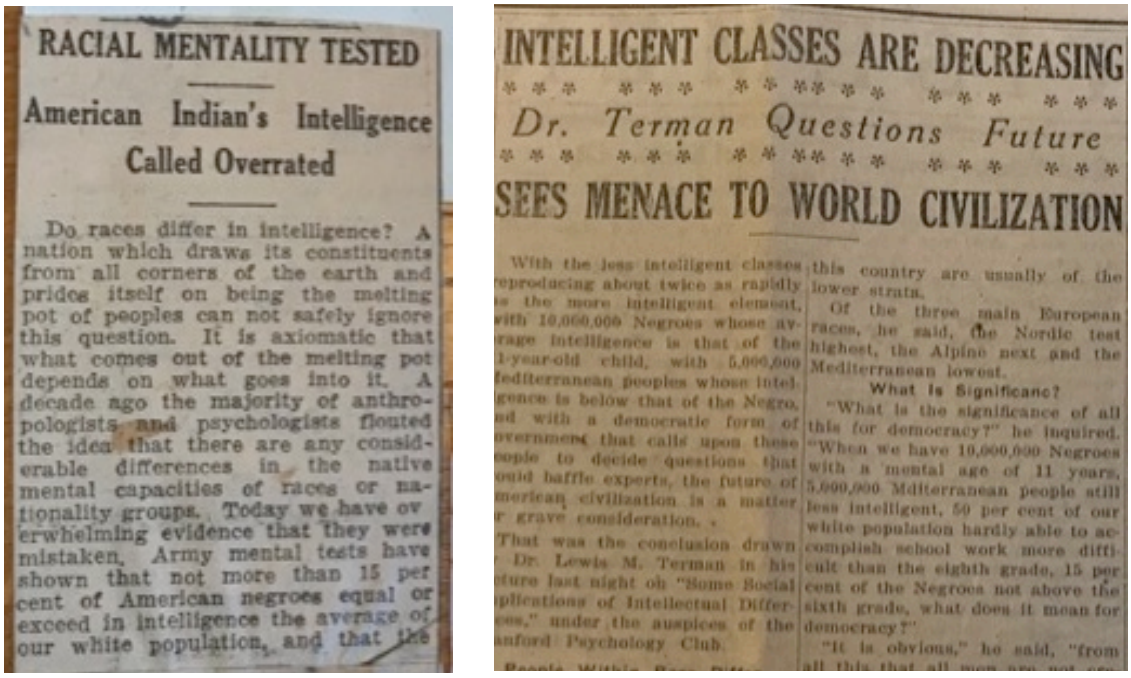
Many months earlier, I was sitting at a wooden table surrounded by stacks of folders in the Cecil H. Green library at Stanford University. The waxy smell of old paper, carefully preserved and catalogued in brown manila folders, was oddly comforting despite the disturbing materials I was documenting. For several days, I had been reading through boxes of letters penned by Lewis Madison Terman, one of the founding figures of gifted education (Jolly, 2018). I was interested in his involvement with the American Eugenics Movement. As a longtime practitioner of gifted education and an urban educator concerned with social justice in that field, I'd taken a serious interest in the legacy of eugenic ideologies in gifted and talented education. My curiosity was sparked by my discovery that the founders of the field had been very actively involved in eugenic

projects and I wondered if there could be clues regarding the intractability of inequities in gifted education within that history.

After several days of reading, sifting and photographing, I was taken aback when I came across a box containing Terman's public scholarship, newspaper articles published for the general public, which concerned the racial inferiority of people of color. Of course, I knew that Terman's eugenic views on intelligence were infamously racist, but I did not realize the efforts he made to spread this message far and wide, beyond the boundaries of academia (see Figure 1).

Figure 1.

Public Scholarship of Lewis Madison Terman on Racial Inferiority of Intelligence, ca. 1922[1]



RACIAL MENTALITY TESTED

American Indian's Intelligence Called Overrated

Do races differ in intelligence? A nation which draws its constituents from all corners of the earth and prides itself on being the melting pot of peoples can not safely ignore this question. It is axiomatic that what comes out of the melting pot depends on what goes into it. A decade ago the majority of anthropologists and psychologists flouted the idea that there are any considerable differences in the native mental capacities of races or nationality groups. Today we have overwhelming evidence that they were mistaken. Army mental tests have shown that not more than 15 per cent of American negroes equal or exceed in intelligence the average of our white population, and that the

INTELLIGENT CLASSES ARE DECREASING

Dr. Terman Questions Future

SEES MENACE TO WORLD CIVILIZATION

With the less intelligent classes reproducing about twice as rapidly as the more intelligent element, with 10,000,000 Negroes whose average intelligence is that of the 11-year-old child, with 5,000,000 Mediterranean peoples whose intelligence is below that of the Negro, and with a democratic form of government that calls upon these people to decide questions that would baffle experts, the future of American civilization is a matter for grave consideration.

That was the conclusion drawn by Dr. Lewis M. Terman in his lecture last night on "Some Social Implications of Intellectual Differences," under the auspices of the Stanford Psychology Club.

this country are usually of the lower strata.

Of the three main European races, he said, the Nordic test highest, the Alpine next and the Mediterranean lowest.

What Is Significanc?

"What is the significance of all this for democracy?" he inquired. "When we have 10,000,000 Negroes with a mental age of 11 years, 5,000,000 Mediterranean people still less intelligent, 50 per cent of our white population hardly able to accomplish school work more difficult than the eighth grade, 15 per cent of the Negroes not above the sixth grade, what does it mean for democracy?"

"It is obvious," he said, "from

Note. The article on the left was authored by Terman and reprinted under different titles

[1] Reprinted with permission from Stanford University.

in newspapers around the country. The article on the right was written by a local journalist and published in *The Daily Palo Alto Times*, reporting on a public lecture given by Terman regarding the inferiority of intelligence among specific races and the consequent threat to democracy.

As I read on, document after document revealed Terman's strong advocacy for eugenics and scientific racism. Although Terman's discourses evolved a great deal over the course of the many decades he was involved in eugenics, I was constantly surprised by the depth and breadth of his lifelong work with these racist, hegemonic ideologies.

Soon my research and reading expanded beyond Lewis Terman and encompassed historiography and other primary sources by and about key historical figures implicated in the founding of American gifted education. The more I read, analyzed, wrote, and learned, the more I began to see the possibility of historical continuities between gifted education today and these long forgotten ideologies; although eugenic ideologies seem absurd and ghoulish today, many of the systems and structures in education that were developed within the eugenic and race science context are as familiar as the sound of the bell ringing at the beginning of recess. Like many white Americans, I had received a poor education on the history surrounding the racial injustices in this country. As a graduate student in programs focused on racial injustices in education, I was constantly astounded by the extent of this history and how dramatically it changed my understanding of enduring problems in education. I became not only fascinated by educational histories in the U.S. surrounding oppression, hegemony, and other forms of injustice, but also convinced of the transformative power that such histories can have on our worldview and

thus, our actions. I suspected that an engagement with the uglier side of the history of gifted education could hold similar transformative properties for other educators and educational leaders.

By the time I met the administrators at Greenfield Public Schools who had invited me to share some of my historical research in support of their own investigation into inequities in their GT program, I had become interested in exploring more explicit connections between my historical research and present-day practices and beliefs. As my relationship with Greenfield educators evolved, I realized that the district represented an ideal sight for better understanding the ways in which gifted education's early history could be explored through the lens of an affirmative presentism (Villaverde et al., 2006); that is, an application of history to the present in order to analyze current injustices and affirm agentic futures whereby longstanding hegemonic beliefs and practices can be disrupted. Furthermore, these were educators not only well-versed in antiracist theory and practice, but also eager to explore this history with me. They seemed to immediately grasp the relevance of this history to their work with inequity in GT. This team of educators invited me to share my own journey with this history as they worked to open up discussions around equity in gifted education with a variety of stakeholders. This rich opportunity to better explore and understand inequities in gifted education through the historical lens was the impetus for this dissertation research.

The Research Problem

For many school systems across the United States, gifted education functions as the ultimate gate keeper to rigorous academic learning by sorting out students considered to have the highest academic potential. Such students are often labeled as "gifted and

talented," "advanced learners," or "high potential learners," and receive enrichment-based pedagogies, accelerated math courses, elementary-level preparation for secondary-level participation in advanced placement and other college preparatory courses, as well as other resource allocations that position them for high levels of economic and academic achievement (Callahan et al., 2014; Office of Civil Rights, 2012). This controversial field has long been plagued with inequities: since its inception, the vast majority of students receiving gifted education services have been white, middle class or affluent, and native English speakers (Ford, 1998; Ford & King, 2014; Ford et al., 2020; Yoon & Gentry, 2009). Some scholars and social justice advocates have concerned themselves with desegregating gifted education (Brulles, et al., 2011; Castellano, 2004, 2006; Ford, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2010a, 2010b), fighting for equitable gifted identification protocols that would grant access to more underrepresented student populations. Others argue that gifted education represents a form of tracking and should be dismantled (Barlow & Dunbar, 2010; Mansfield, 2015; Oakes et al., 2012). Regardless of the stance, gifted education continues to signify a form of grave injustice and a key battleground for equity.

Yet few realize that gifted education was conceived within the American Eugenics Movement, an ideology which thoroughly infiltrated the U.S. school system and shaped collective conceptions of intelligence and academic ability (Gould, 1996). There has never been written a thorough accounting of this history that relates the epistemological assumptions within the field of gifted education and its derivative practices in the present day. It is my belief that the deep, social conditioning that has collectively shaped racist, classist, ableist, and other hegemonic conceptions of giftedness can be transformed

through an engagement with this history, allowing for an awakened critical consciousness (Freire, 2018) among those involved with education.

Many of the efforts to create equity in gifted education are driven by a diversity initiative. Since 1988, the only federal grant dollars for research in gifted education have been provided through the Jacob K. Javits program (Winkler& Jolly, 2011), which maintain a focus on, "serving students traditionally underrepresented in gifted and talented programs…to help reduce the serious gap in achievement among certain groups of students at the highest levels of achievement" (U.S. Department of Education, 2019, p. 1). As a result, numerous projects have been funded to address inequity in representation within gifted education. This diversity initiative is almost always concerned with assessment protocols for assigning the institutional label of "gifted" (e.g., Azano et al., 2017; Han & Marvin, 2000; Little et al., 2018; Medina & Joffe, 2003; Swanson, 2006) or one of its many synonyms (e.g., advanced learner, high ability, high potential, etc.). Thirty-two states in the U.S. require public schools to implement an assessment process to identify and (often permanently) label students as gifted (Woods, 2016). Authorities in gifted education explain that the labeling process is necessary in order to ensure that students receive an appropriately challenging education (Hansen, 1992; NAGC, 2008). Despite decades of Javits-funded research, pilot programs, and revisions to identification protocols, the "representation gap" remains intact (Ford et al., 2020).

This singular focus on diversity in representation has foreclosed the opportunity to investigate the field more critically. Many taken-for-granted and "common sense" assumptions that manifest in school practices and some of the contemporary research literature in the field proliferate various oppressions in K-12 education. These

assumptions include: the conceptualization of intelligence as inherited and fixed, rather than fluid and developable; the tacit definition of intelligence, which centers an epistemology of whiteness to define "general intelligence" (i.e., "*g*") as a universal construct; the use of various assessment criteria to quantify and scientize "giftedness" as an objective diagnosis, positioning it as a life-long condition as opposed to an educational service; the practice of labeling children as gifted, thereby assigning a specific destiny that may profoundly affect learner identities over time (Shoshana, 2007; Killas et al., 2020); separate services, often termed "enrichment" in elementary education and "advanced academics" in secondary education, which function as tracking and maintain race segregation within desegregated schools and across demographically diverse school systems (Ford, et al., 2020). A thoroughgoing deconstruction of these epistemological assumptions and ubiquitous practices can be accomplished through a critical engagement with the history of gifted education. With its roots in the American Eugenics Movement and its concurrent race science ideologies, gifted education has an unaccounted for past that continues to recursively shape the present and recreate inequities decade after decade. Gifted education continues to function in hegemonic, racist and oppressive ways (at least in part) because of the obscurity of this history and a failure to articulate not only the origins of the field, but the tacit and explicit ways that this history and the original ideology of eugenics continues to reify in the present.

Research Purpose

This dissertation has centered the mission to unearth the history of scientific racism and eugenic ideologies in gifted education through a genealogical approach that recursively connects the past to the here-and-now in order to produce a history of the

present (Foucault, 1995; Lesko, 2012). To evoke this history of the present, I combined critical historical research methods with critical ethnography. My engagement with the critical history began with data collection when I traveled to Stanford University to sample the archive containing the Lewis Madison Terman Papers (described at the beginning of this chapter). Later and throughout the dissertation research process, my historical inquiry came to encompass the papers and publications of Francis Galton, some of which were housed in the digital archive of the Wellcome Collection, as well as primary sources by Leta Hollingworth, which were provided to me by the Center for the History of Psychology at the University of Akron. My ethnographic work took place over the course of a year during which I was embedded within a school district, "Greenfield Public Schools" (GPS). During my year of research with them, this small, Midwestern, suburban school district was undergoing a racial equity transformation initiative that would ultimately detrack their gifted and talented (GT) program. I worked with ethnographic data collection to prompt archival research and visa-versa; my objective was to create a dialogical relationship between past and present as I collected and analyzed data. Because the GT program in GPS had perpetuated racial segregation for many years through its predominantly white gifted services and advanced academic programs in an otherwise racially diverse school system, it represented an ideal site for inquiry into the historical continuities concerning systemic racism in gifted education.

Research Questions

Throughout the course of this process, my research was guided by the following questions:

1. How do the historically rooted contextual power dynamics and ideologies of gifted education take shape in the current context of GPS?
2. How do GPS stakeholders conceptualize human intelligence, giftedness, and advanced/gifted programming in relation to the larger history of gifted education?
3. How have historically situated ideologies shaped systems, structures and services for gifted education in terms of racialization and racial segregation?
4. What role do historically rooted power dynamics play in the racial transformation initiative process within GPS related to GT and advanced academics?

These research questions intentionally centered an assumption that historically rooted power dynamics function in the GPS context. Rather than asking "what," questions (i.e., as in a descriptive framework), these "how" questions forward an essential theme from Critical Race Theory (a central theoretical framework for this study): revisionist history. As Delgado and Stefancic (2017) have described,

> Revisionist history reexamines America's historical record, replacing comforting majoritarian interpretations of events with ones that square more accurately with minorities' experiences. It also offers evidence, sometimes suppressed, in that very record, to support those new interpretations. Revisionist historians often strive to unearth little-known chapters of racial struggle, sometimes in ways that reinforce current reform efforts (p. 25).

Rather than inquiring *if* the historical record in gifted education has any relationship to present-day inequities in GPS, I centered the revisionist assumption that the significance of this history has been obscured by "majoritarian interpretations." I began with the understanding that the historically-rooted contextual power dynamics sustaining inequity

in GPS's GT program would be present. Therefore, I have not asked *if* the history of eugenics and scientific racism in gifted education has created systemic inequities in the present, but rather *how* those inequities are shaped by historical continuities. In seeking answers to these questions, I was able to relate historical evidence suggesting strong ideological and structural historical continuities between themes that emerged from the ethnographic context and those that surfaced in the historical archive.

Methodology Overview

Critical historians point out that an affirmative presentism acknowledges the continuity of time between past and present: "Present events, thus, construct the meaning of past events…How did the present situation come to be? critical historians ask" (Villaverde et al., 2006, p. 25). My commitment to an affirmative presentism through a genealogical approach to this history has demanded a recursive relationship between past and present. As a result, this study has come to have a wide-ranging context, including archival research, ethnographic fieldwork, and interviews. As I will describe, I have developed a "multitool approach" to this inquiry that combines critical historical analysis and critical ethnography in a methodologically reciprocal manner. My goal has been to produce a dialogical relationship between the past and the presents, wherein ethnographic fieldwork and historical research are mutually informative. In what follows, I have briefly outlined the significant epistemological, ontological, and methodological particulars of both critical historical research and critical ethnography, as well as the research setting, data collection methods, and analysis, all of which are described in depth in Chapter 3.

Critical History

It is difficult to locate the origins of critical history, but texts such as W.E.B. Du Bois' (1915/2005, 1935/1998) histories *The Negro* and *Black Reconstruction in America* signify the birth of modern critical history in the U.S. More recently, historical research was strongly influenced by the burgeoning social theories of the 1960s (Surkis et al., 2012), which produced epistemological, ontological and methodological turns that increasingly emphasized critical theory (Segall, 1999). Yet according to Kleinberg (2012), since the 1970s there has been an overemphasis on the representational features of language in historical research, which has resulted in theoretical backlash or a "return to the real" (p. 1). In order to disrupt the trend toward positivism, Kleinberg et al. (2018) have outlined definitive features of critical history to better differentiate it from other, more positivistic approaches. These characteristics include history that is grounded in (and capable of producing) theory or theoretical insight; intersubjectivity; political activism; and self-reflexivity.

Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography is the study of present-day, lived experiences. Although ethnography has a long history of exploitation, *critical* ethnography is explicitly political and centers the critical mission of liberation from oppression (Castagno, 2012; Lather, 1986a; Tuck, 2009). Typically, critical ethnographers immerse themselves in a community and serve as participant-observers, working continuously and contiguously to benefit the community. Data collection methods include the compilation of detailed fieldnotes based on the immersive fieldwork conducted over time, as well as interviews, focus groups, and other forms of qualitative data collection (Madison, 2020). However, in critical ethnography, the act of research itself becomes a form of activism and functions

as liberatory praxis. For example, Lather (1986b) advocated that critical ethnographers engage their participants in many levels of the data collection, analysis and reporting process so that the research is produced collaboratively and in a way that could empower and benefit the community. Although I did not aspire to achieve this lofty goal, I was very fortunate to come quite close at times. My key research participants were well versed in Critical Race Theory and deftly able to identify themes in their own local inquiry, and to analyze them in the work we shared. I often relied on their analysis to inspire my own work, and I have underlined this shared data collection and analysis process throughout this dissertation.

Data Collection and Analysis

There are five broad categories of data that I collected through this study: 1) primary sources; 2) secondary sources; 3) interviews; 4) ethnographic fieldwork; 5) Post-reflexions. In the following I have provided a brief description of each of these:

1. Primary Sources. Primary documents in this study were drawn from archival and published sources. The Lewis Madison Terman papers at Stanford University contain the complete set of personal and professional documents preserved by the institution from Terman's entire career. I sampled these documents based on communications with known eugenicists, identified as such through secondary sources, as well as organizations explicitly or implicitly affiliated with eugenics. I collected primary documents by Leta Hollingworth concerning the Speyer School from the Center for the History of Psychology at the University of Akron, which houses the Leta Stetter and Harry L. Hollingworth Papers. Finally, I sampled the digital archive of Sir Francis Galton's papers and publications (as well as several other relevant historical

actors) provided by the digitized materials in the Wellcome Collection based in London. Finally, I acquired papers, books, and other publicly available and/or digitized material written by these and other peripheral historical figures with the support of my university library and the interlibrary loan system.

2. Secondary Sources. I relied on critical historiography related to the American Eugenics Movement, scientific racism, the evolution of mental testing, and the history of gifted education to provide additional source material for developing foundational contexts and at times, framing or aiding my analysis.
3. Fieldwork. I spent a year with key staff at GPS who were leading the racial equity transformation initiative in gifted education and advanced academics. Data collected through my fieldwork include extensive ethnographic fieldnotes and memos, as well as artifacts (i.e., texts generated by GPS, historical student data, PowerPoint presentations, video recordings of board meetings and other public events, etc.).
4. Interviews. I conducted in-depth interviews with my research participants at key points throughout the study. These were recorded and transcribed for inclusion in my analysis.
5. Post-reflexions. Although not explicitly a method of either critical history or critical ethnography, I have found through my studies in post intentional phenomenology (Vagle, 2018) that the method of "post-reflexion" is very useful in actualizing the commitment to self-reflexivity. Reflexivity draws the researcher's attention to their own subjectivity and provides a hermeneutic tool for resisting internal and external colonizing forces (including tacit acts of white supremacy that white researchers in particular may unwittingly manifest) during data collection and at other times. I

captured these reflexions periodically throughout my study through journaling. I used my post-reflexion journal as a data source in my analysis and consequently, my own story and intersubjective experiences are included throughout this dissertation.

All of these data, including both archival and ethnographic sources, were analyzed through a hybridized approach to qualitative coding which combined Emerson et al.'s (2011) ethnographic analysis procedures with Altheide et al.'s (2008) process for ethnographic document analysis.

Research Context.

I spent a year (2020-2021) studying the local history of inequity in gifted education in Greenfield Public Schools, as well as their efforts to interrupt the racial segregation produced by these programs and services. I worked mainly with a core group of educators who were specifically tasked with investigating and recommending a plan of action to transform GT into an antiracist program in both content, structure, and function. Through my involvement with them, I also had the opportunity to attend many meetings, presentations, professional development sessions, and collaborative planning sessions as a researcher-participant with this team. I not only collected ethnographic fieldnotes and artifacts from their setting, but also engaged with them through interviews and sometimes through activities outside of the research context. For example, I participated in a course featuring the book *Me and White Supremacy* (Saad, 2020) led by two members of the GPS team who also collaborated on antiracist education for the general public in their local community. I am absolutely certain that I learned more from their courageous leadership, humility, compassion, wisdom and tenacity than they learned from me, but I

did my best to give as much as I got by sharing research, resources, and ideas from my graduate studies and other research projects.

2020-2021 was an unusual timespan for conducting this research. First of all, it was a time of global pandemic due to the SARS Covid-19 virus that enveloped the globe by April 2020. In the U.S. and elsewhere, all non-essential travel was shut down and many people were forced to work and learn from home, whilst others had to brave the risks of infection by continuing essential "frontline" work, such as in hospitals and food production. GPS educators negotiated both virtual and socially distanced teaching requirements throughout 2020 and 2021. Many were forced to quarantine at home for months. Although my relationships with GPS educators began through face-to-face interactions, the majority of my research was conducted from home. This meant that most of my ethnographic research was done through Zoom. I "sat in on" meetings, events, presentations and so forth, but in reality, I never left my old, beat up office chair in my little attic-shaped room on the second floor of my home. Zoom interactions took on their own gestural significance at times, which I struggled to interpret: Why did she suddenly turn her camera off? Why did he put that particular virtual background image up? Likewise, I struggled to get my hands on primary source documents from archives I had hoped to be able to visit and was astonished by the kindness and generosity of archivists and librarians who tracked down obscure texts and mailed them to me, scanned pages from tender documents, waved fees, and even created Google drive files for me. Despite the pandemic, I was able to connect to humans and history, which seems nothing short of a miracle.

Simultaneously, this was an era of racial reckoning, triggered by the xenophobic and openly racist rhetoric of Donald Trump and his administration, and especially, by the murder of George Floyd, which took place only a few miles from my home. A backdrop of protests, insurrection, arson, claims of stolen elections, and livestreamed videos of ongoing police brutality against Black people framed my entire research process. I witnessed and hurt for the GPS educators I got to know, who struggled to fight for racial equity in their district even whilst these shockingly tumultuous events took place, one after another. Furthermore, the relevance of history began to rear its head overtly throughout this time. As LL Cool J (2020) put it, "For 400 years, you had your knees on our necks" (00:05). From news media, to pop culture, to protest chants, the phrase "400 years" was evoked to explain the history of the present in this era of racial reckoning. Tracy K. Smith (2021) described this evocation of history eloquently:

> [H]istory is upon us, history is not only on our heels, but maybe it's catching up and we're feeling it, its hand against our back. And during the pandemic, witnessing so many acts of violence against unarmed Black citizens, which is nothing new, but almost feeling as if all of America was held in place in a theater, watching this happen and reacting together, amplified all of the feelings of grief, anger, and determination to muster some sense of an adequate response and a sense of, OK, how do we move forward with a different momentum, something other than this rote historic pattern playing itself again and again? (03:27).

I found it hauntingly synchronistic that as I journeyed on my own path with the hand of history on my back and this overwhelming desire to break free from its rote pattern, a much larger historical continuity was surfacing in the collective consciousness of the

racial reckoning, the epicenter of which was in my home of Minneapolis. In this dissertation, I have referred explicitly and implicitly to these many complex events and movements which intersected with the racial equity work in GPS, our lived experiences of that process, my own research, and our collective shifts in critical consciousness that resulted from these multiple layers of conflict, struggle, change, and illumination.

Researcher Positionality

I have worked in the field of gifted education in various roles (i.e., classroom teacher, gifted and talented teacher, advanced differentiation specialist, district program facilitator) since 2005. I have taught hundreds of students, trained hundreds of teachers in advanced differentiation, and labeled thousands of students as gifted/advanced. My self-reflexivity is informed by the knowledge of what it feels like to be an insider as well as, more recently, an outsider. I hold complex feelings and understandings about what drives gifted education. The development of my critical consciousness related to this work has been a slow evolution. I spent years working on the diversity initiative in gifted education, advocating to create systems, structures and practices to serve greater proportions of students of color, multilingual students, and poor students through gifted education programs. Yet through my Ph.D. coursework, which exposed me to the critical genre and allowed me to examine structural racism as applied to gifted education, I have developed a different critique of gifted education.

I have also forged a commitment to constructing knowledge around the critical vow to end oppression, to practice a hermeneutic process of self-reflexivity, to acknowledge the socio-political/cultural positionality of my own meaning-making, and to fight for social justice through the critical ideal. These have been my anchors as well my

motivations for this study. Nonetheless, as a white, cis, straight, middleclass researcher concerned with equity and antiracism, my positionality produces blind-spots and social conditioning that constantly lurk internally and frame my seeing. I grew up immersed in whiteness and I know enough now to know I don't know much and that I'm often wrong. This is why I have also relied on and centered self-reflexivity to enact a process of a "hermeneutics of suspicion" (Ricoeur, 1970) throughout this dissertation process. I built checkpoints into my research process, including member checks and regular mentoring from advisors, to help me unearth blind spots in order to avoid causing harm to the best of my ability. However, I also acknowledge that this dissertation represents a partial and subjective understanding of gifted education because of my positionality, as well as the nature of research, knowledge and truth in a tentative, unfolding universe.

Key Terms. Throughout this dissertation, I have used a range of acronyms and specialized terms that may be confusing to readers unfamiliar with them. While Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of terminology derived from theoretical frameworks I have employed, the following abbreviations may help the reader navigate this dissertation more cogently:

- GPS/Greenfield/Greenfield Public Schools: I use all of these terms and abbreviations interchangeably to refer to the district that I worked with to collect ethnographic data.
- GT: I use the term GT to refer to the "gifted and talented" program in GPS, as well as gifted education in general at times. Whereas other acronyms like GATE (Gifted and Talented Education) are used elsewhere, in my experience, GT is a common term used to refer to gifted education in the Midwest.

- AA: Occasionally I refer to advanced academics with the abbreviation AA. In this writing, AA refers to the rigorous coursework that is offered in a secondary context, and includes many of its own abbreviations. For example, I have referred a few times to IB/IBDP (International Baccalaureate Diploma Program), and AP (Advanced Placement). Whereas GT usually refers to services supplied to students identified as "gifted" through ability and achievement assessments, AA is exclusive to the secondary context. However, in GPS, GT services were also provided to secondary students (in addition to advanced academics), so occasionally the term GT is used when describing programming at the middle school and high school.
- "Gifted": I have struggled with the term "gifted" throughout this dissertation. I granted myself the liberty to use the term in a variety of ways. I have occasionally put the term in quotation marks when I wanted to draw attention to its socially-constructed nature. At other times, I have simply used the term *gifted* unironically and without particular emphasis. Still, at other times, I have used alternative terms: "so-called gifted" and "students labeled as gifted," for example.

How to Read this Dissertation

This is a heavy story. The history of eugenics and scientific racism in the United States and specifically, in gifted education, is a dreadful one. This is also a personal story because my own lived experiences are intimately tied to the themes I have uncovered, analyzed, and woven into one tapestry. And it is a universal story because it tells some of the personal and professional experiences with whiteness, white supremacy, racism, racial segregation and other forms of oppression that are part-and-parcel of a society

based on racial caste and racial hegemony. I have tried to structure this story in such a way that it can be read as both theoretically coherent and humanizing. My participants, the members of the GT Design Team, taught me so much about humility and vulnerability in antiracist work; I have tried to craft this dissertation in that spirit without sacrificing the critical mission by striving to end oppression in all its forms. My advice to the reader is to explore the implications of this history through the lens of the political complexity of gifted education today. This history of the present does not offer any definitive solutions to the issues of inequities in gifted education, but it may help to illuminate the ways in which forgotten histories can control our systems, processes, practices, and beliefs *because* of the forgetting. Being born into this world is a bit like walking into a movie theatre halfway through the show. We have to rely on others to whisper to us what has come before so we can better understand what is happening now. I hope this dissertation can be read as the person sitting on your left, whispering a few critical details that your friends may have forgotten to mention.

This is a complex story that brings together many threads across space and time. As such, the chapters are structured to meet the requirements of a dissertation while walking the reader through foundational theories and historiographies to better support comprehension and interpretation of the analysis and discussion that follows. I made a literary and ethical choice to frame each of my chapters around a historical question posed by members of the GPS community. However, each chapter explores a specific research question, which I originally wrote in my own words. I have provided the following brief outline to make the relationship between my analysis and my research questions more explicit:

- Chapter 2 provides a historiographic review to establish the historical context for this study in lieu of a more traditional literature review. I structured this chapter to situate the context in which gifted education took shape in the United States.
- Chapter 3 presents a more traditional outline of the methodology and methods used in this study and especially, the theoretical foundation for combining approaches to research from both critical history and critical ethnography.
- Chapter 4 presents an analysis exploring themes related to my research question, "How do GPS stakeholders conceptualize human intelligence, giftedness, and advanced/gifted programming in relation to the larger history of gifted education?" This chapter uses a Foucauldian analysis of contextual power dynamics to explore foundational epistemologies and ontologies of gifted education as historical continuities sustaining inequity.
- Chapter 5 explores findings related to my research question, "How have historically situated ideologies shaped systems, structures and services for gifted education in terms of racialization and racial segregation?" Here I have relied on Critical Race Theory to interpret historical continuities concerning racism and racial oppression perpetuated through GT in GPS.
- Chapter 6 provides an analysis of themes related to my research question, "What role do historically rooted power dynamics play in the racial transformation initiative process within GPS related to GT and advanced academics?" In this chapter, I have used the theory of "new racism"

(Bonilla-Silva, 2014) to relate discourses of resistance to detracking and integration in GPS with Civil Rights Era practices and discourses in gifted education, as well as the post-war legacy of Lewis Terman.

- Chapter 7 presents a synthesis of my findings and analysis. I included a discussion of these findings, and in particular emphasized the implications of my study for future research and practice.

Conclusion

Gifted education has affected so many of us in the United States on a personal level: as students, educators, parents and guardians; through inclusion or exclusion; or simply as bystanders. If this dissertation is read beyond my committee and colleagues, I anticipate a range of reactions. For example, individuals who experienced oppression as a result of inclusion in or exclusion from gifted education may find some of this work to be validating. People who are tied to racially or otherwise educationally marginalized identities, but who have had positive experiences with gifted education that benefited them, may find some of my analysis and critique problematic. Others, perhaps a few scholars or practitioners, could be offended by this history and the implications I have presented. Many will find the explicitly racist quotes and historical narratives disturbing. Discussions regarding gifted education are polarizing in this time, and there are not monolithic stances represented by fixed identities: some scholars of color have emphatically argued *not* to dismantle gifted education programs as many school districts consider taking them apart (Ford et al., 2021); students in New York City public schools are fighting hard to dismantle them as I write these words (DeGregory, 2021).

Gifted education is both a personal and a profoundly political topic. Scholars of color, antiracist advocates, parents and guardians, students, conservative academics, and devoted practitioners alike all have unique reasons to advocate for or against the continuation of gifted services in public education. In these politically divisive times, I hope to provide this research in order to inform, deepen and continue the conversation about the role of gifted education in U.S. schools. In an era where public discourse has largely been displaced by dogmatic and deeply polarizing debate, I hope (perhaps naively) that my work can affirm a renewed engagement with history among educators who care about racial injustices in our K-12 system. I believe this is a moment to expose hidden and obscured histories in order to heal, repair harm, and uproot the vestigial, systemic racism built by profoundly racist ideologies in the United States. I believe we can collectively shelter, uplift and ultimately liberate members of our community who have experienced oppression and harm at the hands of hegemonic systems only when we face and integrate the heavy story that we'd rather hide from, ignore, or disregard. And I believe we can nurture a new future through this kind of engagement with an awful history in the spirit of healing and hope.

Chapter 2

Historical Context and Historiography

Though little known to the American public (Rivard, 2014), the study of the American Eugenics Movement represents a vast body of literature spanning decades (Paul, 2016). A thorough review of this scholarship would be beyond the scope of my dissertation and the goals of this chapter. On the other hand, literature concerning the legacy of eugenics in gifted education is scant. I therefore had to craft this chapter in order to equalize these imbalances, and to provide a foundation for both the historical context from which gifted education emerged and the state of scholarship on this topic within the field of gifted education. The first part of this chapter provides a synthesis of selected literature related to the emergence of gifted education, with a particular emphasis on scientific racism, eugenics, and social Darwinism. The latter part of the chapter addresses literature within gifted education and provides a brief critique of historiography related to the legacy of eugenics by scholars of gifted education. Because my research leverages critical methodologies, the goal of this chapter is to present those historical aspects related to the inception of gifted education that develop a more critical understanding of the current state of inequities in the U.S. school system, as well as to ground my argument that the legacy of eugenics in gifted education represents structural and ideological continuities evidenced in Greenfield Public Schools.

Conceptual Framework for the Selection of Literature and Analysis

Historiography has two meanings: it refers to "the careful study of historical writing and the ways in which historians interpret the past through various theoretical lenses and methodologies" (Villavarde et al., 2006, p. 311); it also means the actual

historical narratives that historians produce. Critical historiographers concern themselves with the ways in which historical writing produces effects in the present and future by "embracing an affirmative presentism… to connect past, present and future" (p. 328). Historical representation as well as the specific historical questions that historians pose are important elements of historiographic analysis. As Villavarde et al. have described, "The insight and interpretation of history is founded and crafted through the author's ethical referent, theoretical framework, and philosophical method" (p. 317). I have crafted this chapter with the goal of centering the intersubjectivity of the critical paradigm: the histories I have used are leveraged either to support an affirmative presentism or to expose the authors' ethical referent.

Hayden White (1982, 2005a), a significant postmodern historical philosopher, asserted that history is not a natural truth to be discovered and verified, but a narrative construction, conceived of through the historical imagination. Historiography is, "a return to the intimate relationship (history) had with art, poetry, rhetoric, and ethical reflection a priori to professionalization" (White, 2005b, p. 335). White wrote extensively about the role that language plays in constructing historical narrative (e.g., 1978, 1980, 1982, 1999, 2005a) and asserted that literary theory should be leveraged to interpret historical writing (1999). In this sense, White stressed the importance of identifying the figurative element of historical narratives to uncover "how historical discourse produces its knowledge-effects" (1999, p. 8). For example, emplotment (i.e., the chronology of pivotal events the historian has deemed important) can reveal the ethical referent which Villavarde et al. (2006) described. Historians make literary choices about which events matter most and

how to present them, and these choices often reveal their worldviews, value systems, ontological orientation, and epistemological commitments.

White's (1982, 1999, 2005a, 2005b) and Villavarde et al.'s (2006) philosophical frameworks for historiography informed my selection of literature for this chapter. I recognized the subjective nature of historiography and sought out histories that would establish the historical context for the analysis I have presented in this dissertation. Ultimately, I drew work from two different sources: 1) critical histories that help to establish foundational historical themes of the American Eugenics Movement relevant to the emergence of gifted education[2]; 2) historiography from several *un*critical histories penned by gifted education scholars. Critical histories operationalize the original mission of critical theorists to "transform all circumstances that enslave human beings" (Bohman, 2005, p. 3) by theorizing history, intervening in political struggles and centering the ontological conception of intersubjectivity (Kleinberg et al., 2018). *Un*critical histories, as I define them, deploy positivistic assumptions of historical research as a hard science: an epistemological commitment to history as a series of discoverable facts that are used to construct valid and reliable accounts of the past; a method that pretends the historian's bias can be eliminated through the application of rigorous logic (McCullagh, 2000); and a grounding in ontological realism (Kleinberg et al., 2018).

My research questions concern contextual power dynamics and historical continuities, which require an analytical lens that can both define and ground the analysis in a coherent understanding of power. I have relied on Foucatul's (1980, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004) multifaceted theories of power in this dissertation, including this review of

[2] I have also included a minority of primary source references when my investigations of the historiography drew me to the original documents.

historiographic literature. In this chapter, I have employed one specific Foucauldian theory of power, biopower (2004), which supports a broad analysis of the American Eugenics Movement and its representation in the historiography. Foucault (1995) first articulated a theory of disciplinary power, which concerned control over individual bodies, but broadened this conception (1990, 2000, 2004) to include more expansive technologies of power used to control entire populations. The collective body of the human species is the target of biopower, which Foucault expresses as "bio-regulation by the state" (2004, p. 250). That is, all of the biological functions of humanity *en masse* (e.g., reproduction, sexuality, birth, death, illness, etc.) are subject to domination and control. Biopower is predicated on the idea that with the death of monarchical power in the 17th century, "the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy" (2004, p. 1). Foucault (1990) described this evolution:

> During the classical period, there was a rapid development of various disciplines—universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops; there was also the emergence, in the field of political practices and economic observation, of the problems of birthrate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration. Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of "bio-power" (p. 140).

Significant to the history of eugenics, Foucault linked the birth of biopower with a new conceptualization of the population through the proliferation of disciplinary institutions such as universities, an insight exceedingly relevant to the American Eugenics

Movement, which was supported by academic and governmental institutions at the highest levels (Kline, 2001; Lombardo, 2011; Paul, 1995; Stern, 2005).

Because it is corporeal in the extreme, biopower seems as if it was almost conceived with eugenics specifically in mind. Though I could find no evidence that this was Foucault's thinking in his writings on the subject in *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-1978* (2007), he does briefly mention eugenics in *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1* (1990) wherein he refers to eugenics as one of the "great innovations in the technology of sex in the second half of the 19th century" (p. 118). In this section, he provides a detailed account on the history and significance of blood within the monarchical tradition and describes how its controlling function transitioned to biopower with the fading of sovereign power. By linking the symbolic power of blood with the disciplinary control of reproduction across the population, he described the operations of eugenics as a form of biopower:

> Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, the thematics of blood was sometimes called on to lend its entire historical weight toward revitalizing the type of political power that was exercised through the devices of sexuality… a long series of permanent interventions at the level of the body, conduct, health, and everyday life, received their color and their justification from the mythical concern with protecting the purity of the blood and ensuring the triumph of the race… A eugenic ordering of society, with all that implied in the way of extension and intensification of micro-powers, in the guise of an unrestricted state control (étatisation), was accompanied by the oneiric exaltation of a superior blood" (1990, p. 149)

Through its obsession with "superior blood," eugenics represents one of the more overt, as opposed to the many covert, manifestations of biopower as a political strategy as well as a proliferative power-relation subjectivity (i.e., "micro-powers") through which it grasped the hegemonic (oneiric) imagination. Foucault's (1990) genealogy points to how and why the concept of blood was such a powerful mechanism for asserting biopower through eugenics. For centuries under sovereign rule, bloodlines, blood oaths, blood sacrifice and other literal and symbolic functions of blood were used to dominate the masses. With the advent of new disciplines to conceptualize, measure, manipulate and experiment at the population level, biopower was increasingly expressed through the control of reproduction. However, the symbolic meaning of blood retained salience. For example, a motto of the 1914 First International Conference on Race Betterment, an event held by American eugenicists, was to "keep the blood of the race pure" (Okrent, 2019, p. 187). By linking reproduction with blood and blood with race, eugenics gained enormous appeal in America.

Eugenics also drew its compelling force from burgeoning fields of "science" and the technologies of population control. "Bio-regulation by the state" (Foucault, 2004, p. 250) represents a range of such technologies, but the tools of statistics and normalization are particularly salient to the history of eugenics within gifted education. Normalization represents not only a disciplinary mechanism, but also the aim of biopower: the norm articulates an "optimal model" for the collective body of society and then uses technologies of power to force adherence to this model. Statistics represent a mechanism through which this adherence is monitored and managed. Foucault's assertion is that the use of statistics revealed, "that the population possesses its own regularities: its death

rate, its incidence of disease, its regularities of accidents… major epidemics, endemic expansions, the spiral of labor and wealth" (2007, p. 104). In short, statistics (which, according to Foucault, had previously only been used for administrative purposes in service to the sovereignty) consolidate, define and quantify normalization. Normalization and statistics, as technologies of biopower, were and are still used proliferatively to advance the ideology of eugenics through gifted education, especially as they are applied to mental testing.

I have found that Foucault's (1990, 2007) view of biopower as relational is significant to this historiographic review and analysis. Eugenics was neither a conspiracy nor merely a project of the ruling class; it infiltrated every level of society and profoundly grasped American culture (Leonard, 2016; Okrent, 2019). Eugenics was mainstream. The relational nature of biopower is significant in that, "Power is exercised through networks, and individuals do not simply circulate in those networks; they are in a position to both submit to and exercise this power… power passes through individuals. It is not applied to them" (2003, p. 29). Biopower describes an internalization of its methods; rather than consciously choosing to exercise power as such, or to submit to its effects, eugenics as a form of biopower became normalized and enmeshed in the collective sociocultural construction of reality. In this chapter, I have not only summarized the historiography that grounds this dissertation, but also have worked to highlight mechanisms of biopower illuminated by these historical representations. Biopower expressed itself through the American Eugenics Movement, and consequently, the foundational ideologies of gifted education, as a range of technologies and discourses. The critical histories I have selected illuminate these technologies and discourses, whereas uncritical histories often seem to

discursively reproduce them. Biopower constitutes a helpful theoretical lens through which contextual power dynamics expressed in historiography can be illuminated to ground the remainder of this dissertation in a theoretically informed historical context.

The Emergence of the American Eugenics Movement

The conditions which eventually birthed the American Eugenics Movement are complex and multifaceted, with a lineage rooted in European colonization and an interest in scientifically substantiating and rationalizing human exploitation (Kendi, 2016). Eugenics surfaced in the latter half of the 19th century, an era in which many Western nations, and the U.S. in particular, were rapidly changing. New and evolving sciences, industrialization, immigration, and the solidification of colonial and settler colonial territories converged around the development of eugenics. Emergences are often nonlinear, idiosyncratic, and multifaceted (Garland, 2014), and the arrival of the ideology of eugenics was no different. Although, historians can clearly pinpoint its champion and the man who gave us the name *eugenics* (i.e., from the Greek: good in stock), Francis Galton's work could also be seen as a synthesis of many other thinkers that preceded him, as well as his contemporaries. Francis Galton was just one particularly verbose polymath in a long line of privileged, white, European men who used intellectual pursuits to advance hegemonic philosophies. Thus, it is difficult to establish the historical foundation for a study involving the eugenic roots of gifted education in America without first describing the causes and conditions that surrounded the emergence of eugenics. I have begun with an overview of historiography concerning colonial race science and the unique forms it took in the United States, as well as key European thinkers who provided

the philosophical grounding, techniques, and frameworks that American eugenicists evolved in their own exceptionally American fashion.

Colonial Race Science: From Religion to Scientization

Race science is an essential precursor to American eugenics, and one that emerged over the course of several centuries before Francis Galton first penned the term "eugenics" in 1883. In order to discuss this and the other topics that follow, I must first define the terminology I have used to describe this evolution of ideologies. Out of respect for *actual* science that has aided humanity in numerous ways, I refer to the ideas produced by colonial and eugenic race science as *scientism*, which is a term that describes,

> [T]he transfer of ideas, practices, attitudes and methodologies from the context of the study of the natural world (which was assumed to be independent of human needs and expectations) into the study of humans and institutions without imposing any judgement on the legitimacy of such an appropriation." (Olson, 2008, p.1).

In other words, scientism represents a sloppy misappropriation of *science*, which was developed to produce theories related to the natural world, yet often falters when applied to the subjective world of society. Scientization[3] is a closely related term that describes the process through which something that is *not* science is qualified as science. As Olson defined, science is often misappropriated for purely political and ideological reasons in order to give those ideas more legitimacy. We need terms to describe those acts of misappropriation. I've avoided the term "pseudoscience" because it is not subtle enough:

[3] I also use the terms "scientize" in the transitive verb form related to this definition.

scientific ideas are constantly evolving and necessarily unstable, and what we now call pseudoscience in terms of eugenics dismisses the seriousness with which it was (and still is) understood and operationalized.

Before the enlightenment eventually produced myriad schemas for scientized understandings of differences among the human species, centuries of colonial race consciousness-building were driven by religious ideologies (Omi & Winant, 2015). Colonization can be seen as an essential precursor to eugenics in that it prompted a strong motivation to delineate race superiority in order to justify domination, territorial occupation, and genocide. Significantly, Omi and Winant distinguished the early days of race consciousness in which religious notions of human difference rationalized this othering, and later phases in which scientism moved in to provide a refreshed discourse for justifiable subjugation. The authors observed that although discourses related to physical differences among humans can be traced to our earliest contiguous records (e.g., Herodotus), it was the European discovery of the Americas that prompted explicit conceptualizations of race in the modern sense. A sharp distinction between Europeans (i.e., authentic human beings and the children of God), and "others" (i.e., subhuman underlings) fomented the eventual genocides and enslavement of indigenous peoples the world over.

Kendi (2016) traced the religious, colonial origins of race science to the puritan colonists of North America, whom he described as oriented toward "biblical, scientific, and Aristotelian rationalizations of slavery and human hierarchy" (p. 19). Puritan religion was grounded in a combination of Aristotelian philosophy (specifically, Kendi referenced Aristotle's "climate theory" of Greek superiority, which bears a haunting resemblance to

genetic theories of racial preeminence expressed in eugenics) and Christian theological justifications for slavery. Eventually a climate theory of Black inferiority intersected the biblical notion of the "curse of Ham" (or the idea that God had cursed dark skinned people with slavery, as described in Genesis 9:18-29), and the colonial slave trade invented all sorts of elaborate schemas to describe the religiously-based ethics for the enslavement and subjugation of Black and Brown people (e.g., saving souls, etc.). With the onset of the scientific revolution and throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the discourses on race inferiority became increasingly more technical and redolent with biopower.

As a new "race science" began to emerge, early practitioners seized on the organizational principles in Linnaeus' (1735) *Systema Naturae sive Regna Tria Naturae*, which may be one of the most significant printed descriptions of race difference based on scientized classifications. Linnaues described four categories of race including: "Europaeus albesc[ens]; Americanus rubesc[ens]; Asiaticus fuscus; and Africanus nigr[iculus]" (Linnaues cited in Müller-Wille, 2014, p. 600). He elaborated that, "Europeans are said to be 'whitish,' Americans 'reddish,' Asians 'tawny,' and Africans 'blackish'" (Müller-Wille, 2014, p. 600). To each of these categories he also ascribed a hierarchy and mental characteristics: *Europaeus* was, of course, the most intelligent and at the highest level of the hierarchy; *Americanus* were ruled by custom; *Asiaticus*, ruled by opinion; and at the bottom of the hierarch, *Africanus* was "sluggish, lazy… [c]rafty, slow, careless. Covered by grease. Ruled by caprice" (Linnaues cited in Kendi, 2016, p. 82). Linnaues' work seems to have goaded a snowballing of scientized race hierarchies which came to encompass more than the original four categories, including "ethnic

racism," such as the delineation of race hierarchies among Africans (e.g., Senegambians as superior to Angolans) and Europeans (e.g., Western Europeans as superior to the Irish). This "scientific" ordering of the races became a great interest of 18th and 19th century intellectuals, but in American, it took on an astounding depth and breadth.

Scientific Racism in America

White Americans were horrifically imaginative when it came to scientized schemas for race, which were designed to uphold an economic system that relied on slavery and racial hegemony. For example, the 18th century methods of phrenology and physiognomy were wildly popular in America. These practices associated racialized phenotypical characteristics with qualities of morality and intellect: the inferior intellectual capacity of indigenous Americans and Blacks were observable in skull size and shape (Branson, 2017); the noses of Jews implied greed (Rogoff, 1997). A leading American phrenologist, George Combe (1834), regularly used the terms "natural talent" when discussing the superior skull size and shape of white Anglo-Saxons decades before Galton first described his theory of eugenics premised on his assertions regarding natural, inherited talent and ability.

Roediger (2019) described that slave management in the south had a particular influence on the scientific racism that evolved in America. Medicalized pathologies were invented to explain the suffering and resistance of enslaved people, such as *drapetomania* (a disease which caused slaves to run away) and *diasthesia aethiopica* (apparently another disease afflicting slaves who were excessively sleepy while working). Such diseases could only be cured by the slave master's superior knowledge of slave physiology and psychology. By extension, freed slaves in the north would be denied the

medical support necessary to manage these diseases of fundamental racial inferiority. Slaves could be treated for these diseases through beatings and whippings, as well as, "paternalistic judgements regarding individual slaves, and ultimately, the threat of their sale, taking them away from loved ones" (p. 87). This odd assemblage of paper-thin scientized concepts apparently were popular among white Americans. The oddity and cruelty of their suppositions reveals much about the uniquely American variety of race science and its intellectually simplistic technologies of biopower and discourses, which were sufficiently convincing to many Americans.

By the turn of the 20th century, generations of white settler-colonists had become deeply versed in the discourses that promoted the scientized systematic hierarchization of race. Perhaps the most dramatic, public representation of American race science was the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago where America's racial hierarchy was theatricalized in a vivid and expansive presentation called "The Great Chain of Being" (Lesko, 2012). A "white city" was constructed and situated within "the court of honor" (p. 16); surrounding this temple of white superiority with all of its achievements on display was a sloping Midway which allowed participants to physically move through the descending racial hierarchy. An Irish village began the downward journey, followed by increasingly lower ranks of civilization including Chinese, Turkish, and American Indian settlements. The media proclaimed, "What an opportunity here was afforded to the scientific mind to descend the spiral of evolution" (*The Chicago Tribune* cited in Lesko, 2012, p. 16). With its genocidal history of conquest and slavery, white America had preserved its racial hegemony over centuries through the greatest technique of biopower: the claim of scientific legitimacy.

Herbert Spencer and Social Darwinism

Herbert Spencer, a British philosopher and biologist, wrote about evolution years before Charles Darwin (1859/1964) published *On the Origin of Species* (Yoder, 2015). In 1864, Spencer published *Principles of Biology*, in which he first described "survival of the fittest," a phrase usually attributed to Darwin (who initially used the phrase "natural selection") because he eventually adopted it in his own work (Paul, 1988). Spencer, however, was more concerned with applying conceptions of evolution to society (Yoder, 2015) and especially, to explain social inequality and promote laissez faire capitalism. Spencer gave the world an ideology that inequities and class-based caste systems have a natural, biological origin, and that "survival of the fittest" applied to human characteristics beyond physiology:

> Inconvenience, suffering, and death, are the penalties attached by nature to ignorance, as well as to incompetence—are also the means of remedying these… Partly by weeding out those of lowest development, and partly by subjecting those who remain to the never-ceasing discipline of experience, nature secures the growth of a race who shall both understand the conditions of existence, and be able to act up to them (Spencer, 1850, as cited in Yoder, 2015, p. 5).

Certainly, aspects of Spencer's writing are redolent with eugenic ingredients and preceded the more explicit treatise on this topic generated by Francis Galton during Spencer's lifetime.

Though sometimes attributed to Spencer (Lombardo, 2001), the origins of the term *social Darwinism* are not exactly clear. Huxley apparently used the term "Darwinism," in his 1861 review of *On the Origin of Species* (Sussman, 2009), and

eventually, the phrase "social Darwinism" was taken up in academic writing (Yoder, 2015). However, the term was not widely used until after the publication of Richard Hofstadter's (1944) book, *Social Darwinism in American Thought.* Hofstadter's book made a big impression on Americans during World War II when American discourses concerning racial hierarchy began to take a turn, and the term *social Darwinism* was applied as a critique of eugenics and other hegemonic ideologies that had previously thrived. Regardless of its usage prior to Hofstadter's book, social Darwinism does seem to be an apt term to describe much of the ideological sentiment of American eugenicists. Kendi (2016) described that Spencer's social Darwinist ideals were popular in America because American elites longed for "ideas to justify the nation's growing inequities" (p. 210). In particular, Americans seized on Spencer's assertion that dominant races have greater survival advantages and inferior races would subsequently and eventually become extinct.

Francis Galton

Francis Galton (1907) knew Spencer through their shared intellectual community and fondness for the smoking room at the Athenium Club in London. Later in life, Galton described the he felt he had a, "personal debt to (Spencer), which is large. It lies in what I gained in his readiness to discuss any ideas I happened to be full of at the time, with quick sympathy and keen criticism" (p. 5). Galton's eventual conception of eugenics was influenced by the social Darwinist thinking of this era, which gripped his imagination. Whereas Spencer concerned himself with the survival of the fittest races and societies, Galton's main focus was the heritability of natural talent, ability, eminence and

intelligence, and especially, the responsibility of society to control the population based on these traits.

Galton was moved to begin laying out a theory for the genetic inheritance of genius shortly after reading the newly released, *On the Origin of Species* (1859/1964). In his memoir, Galton (1908) described the influence of Darwin's book on his thinking: "I was encouraged by the new views to pursue many inquiries which had long interested me, and which clustered around the central topic of Heredity and the possible improvement of the Human Race" (p. 288). Galton was intrigued by his own observations of the "many obvious cases of heredity among the Cambridge men who were at the university at my own time" (p. 288) and undertook two "studies" to provide evidence that talent and eminence are heritable traits. Galton was a polymath whose motto was, "Whenever you can, count" (Murdoch, 2007). He innovated the foundation for modern statistics, and used his statistical skills to craft his arguments in his book, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (1869/1922). In this tome, he traced the family trees of "eminent men" and created statistical models to assert that eminence runs in families and thus, is likely genetically conferred. With this publication, he planted the seeds for what would one day inspire gifted education. The treatise that stimulated the eugenics movement was his 1883 book, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*, in which he coined the term "eugenics" and argued for selective control over human breeding in order to improve the human species.

Galtonian eugenics was widely embraced in the United States through the work of Charles Davenport, Francis Galton's protégé (Allen, 1997), who established the Eugenics Record Office in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, a major think tank and laboratory for

the eugenics movement. This institute held two major goals, which would eventually spur a national movement: 1) to produce scientific findings related to the heritability of traits such as criminality, mental ability, and racial difference; 2) to provide "public service" by sharing eugenic scholarship widely through targeted propaganda in order to influence culture, policy and legislation. Social-Darwinism, progressivism, scientific racism, and economic reform in the early 20th century established the conditions under which the eugenics movement took hold (Leonard, 2016). By 1913, eugenics was becoming intensely popularized across America through various establishments such as the Better Babies Bureau and an epidemic of public policies that sought to control the reproductive rights of Americans, from forced sterilization laws to regulations prohibiting marriage of the "genetically unfit" (Okrent, 2019, p. 170). Eugenics found its way into all levels of society, from popular culture in the form of songs, novelty items, movies, Broadway shows, and match-making services, to the higher echelons of academia wherein many of the nation's most prominent scientists and academicians claimed affiliation with eugenics (Allen, 1997). For a period of time, American eugenics was a mainstream, popular ideological system taken up by a vast range of American cultures and communities. Its many technologies of biopower were widely embraced by the populace, until the Nazis showed the world what the ultimate actualization of eugenic goals could look like.

Eugenic Projects in America

The United States, rather than Galton's homeland of Great Britain, proved to be the more robust nursery for the eugenics movement. It was the American brand of eugenics that especially inspired the Third Reich and illuminated the forced sterilization and extermination policies that led to the Holocaust (Black, 2003). With its uniquely

horrifying brand of scientific racism, the United States was a potent site for the growth and development of this hegemonic ideology. Once the eugenics movement took hold, new projects condoning state sanctioned violence, oppression, and human rights violations emerged. In this section, I have reviewed literature related to the American projects of scientific racism, sterilization, and immigration law, all of which are intertwined with the birth of gifted education in the United States. I have explored each of these themes through selected critical histories and related them to Foucault's (1990, 2004) theory of biopower to further extrapolate their mechanization as tools for ordering and dominating the population.

Race Purity

Inspired by the classification system of Linnaeus (1735), described previously, American race scientists conceived of race as a biological category denoting separate species. The emancipation of slaves after the Civil War, alongside a rapid increase in immigration from Asia and Eastern Europe, inspired white Anglo-Saxon America to increasingly use scientific racism as a justification for cruel and inhumane policies and practices, including the passage of Jim Crow laws in the south (Leonard, 2016). During the era of the American Eugenics Movement, "race" referred not only to skin color, but also to ethnicity and nationality, especially for the purpose of categorizing immigrants from European nations (Okrent, 2019). Unlike discussions of race today, the term race essentially distinguished white Americans who claimed Western-European heritage (considered the true whites in America). All others, including those "*un*white whites" of Mediterranean- or Eastern-European ancestry, were positioned below Aryans within a carefully articulated, yet protean hierarchy (Leonard, 2016).

American eugenics was largely a movement devoted to establishing the purity of the white race (Stubblefield, 2007), and this meant that "cleansing" the white population through controlled breeding was also required. Central to the project of whiteness in eugenics was the distinction between race degeneration (i.e., weakening of the race by prolific reproduction of its degenerative components) and race suicide (i.e., when non-white races reproduce more prolifically and overtake whites in population size) (Leonard, 2016). Because Anglo-Saxonism was positioned as the superior genetic expression of whiteness, prolific breeding of this stock was encouraged to avoid race degeneration; this agenda was called "positive eugenics" (Allen, 1997). Germ theory asserted that a capacity for democracy was a racial inheritance specific to Anglo-Saxons, with its predominant roots located in Germany: "The 'germs' of liberty and self-governance were Saxon in origin, transmitted first to England and then to America" (John Burgess, 1904, cited in Leonard, 2016, p. 127). The term "germ" would today be replaced by the term "gene." Thus, the preservation of Anglo-Saxon stock— the only "race" with the biological proclivity for democracy— was associated with the survival of democracy itself. Attention to controlling the reproduction of this purest element of the white race became the major focus of eugenic technologies of biopower.

Because Anglo-Saxons were positioned as the superior incarnation of whiteness, intra-group threats to the white race were many. Eastern (e.g., Poles, Russian Jews) and "Mediterranean" (e.g., Italians, Greeks) Europeans, Catholics, the poor, the promiscuous, the deviant, the insane, the epileptic, and the "feeble minded" (Cohen, 2016; Leonard, 2016; Okrent, 2019; Stubblefield, 2007) were all seen as contaminations inhibiting the development of a superior white race. Eugenic scientific racism characterized the

evidence of these inferior stock: for example, the muscles in the noses of Jewish people were said to indicate characteristics of "disgust, contempt, and disdain… scorn, (and) unacknowledging guilt" (Bean, 1914, as cited in Okrent, 2019, p. 187); Italians were considered to be dirty and unkempt, with "tiny little eyes… furtive and antagonistic" (Wister, 1902, as cited in Okrent, 2019, p. 99); Chinese were characterized as "biped domestic animals… the ideal industrial machine, the perfect human ox" (Wigmore, 1894, cited in Lopez, 1997, p.44). In response, American eugenic organizations promoted policies and laws that limited the reproductive rights of these groups, often enacting forced sterilizations, celibate institutionalizations, imprisonments, and other technologies of biopower.

Sterilization

The infamous case of *Buck v. Bell* represented the inflammation of these juridical forms of biopower taken to extreme measures. Carrie Buck, an inmate at the Virginia State Colony for Epileptics and the Feebleminded became involved in a pivotal supreme court case when her guardian challenged the state's authority to have her sterilized (Cohen, 2016). Buck had been given the Binet-Simon assessment, one of the earliest versions of an intelligence test, which quantified her adult mental age as 9 years old. The case featured "evidence" that Buck represented a genetic threat to society, and her mother (who had also been given the Binet-Simon test), as well as her own child (a product of rape), were also declared to be feebleminded. Additionally, evidence was brought to demonstrate that both Carrie Buck and her mother were purportedly promiscuous, which heightened the sense that they represented a genetic menace.

Justice Oliver Wendell Homes notoriously declared that, “Three generations of imbeciles are enough,” and ruled that the 14th amendment did not apply to individuals who posed too great a risk to society because of inferior genes (Cohen, 2016). The ruling, “gave the eugenic sterilization movement ‘a constitutional blessing and an epigrammatic battle cry’” (Leuchtenburg, 1995, as cited in Cohen, 2016, p. 299). Thousands of state sanctioned sterilizations followed in the years after the supreme court ruling with the majority of U.S. states enacting laws that allowed for involuntary sterilizations by 1935. While the majority of sterilizations were performed on women, African Americans (Roberts, 1999), Native Americans (Theobald, 2019), and Latinx people (Novak et al., 2018), all became explicit targets of the eugenic sterilization movement.

Because of American antiblackness and its obsessions with supposed threats to the survival of the white race, eugenic sterilization policies impacted Black people severely. Progressives such as sociologist Charles Cooley and economist Richard Ely warned that providing social services to African Americans would result in their population overwhelming the white race and advocated for eugenic sterilization as the solution (Leonard, 2016). The near-simultaneity of historical events such as *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the publication of *Race Traits of the American Negro* (Hoffman, 1896) helped to solidify the eugenic conception of Black people as “doomed to extinction, victims (of)… black hereditary inferiority” (p. 120). Margaret Sanger, the founder of Planned Parenthood, created her eugenic “Negro Project” in order to reduce live births among Black Americans. Sanger (1938) described her motivation: “The mass of Negroes, particularly in the South still breed carelessly and disastrously with the result that the increase among Negroes, even more than among whites, is from that portion of the

population least intelligent and fit, and least able to rear children properly" (as cited in Roberts, 2009). Even more horrifically, the widespread use of so-called "Mississippi Appendectomies," or forced sterilizations of institutionalized Black women, were sometimes undertaken purely for the purpose of providing surgical practice for white physicians (Roberts, 1999).

Immigration

Immigration reform was also a major technology of biopower driven by World War I xenophobia and the "red scare," which was inspired by American paranoia of the Russian Bolshevik revolution (Okrent, 2019). Immigrants to the U.S., especially Italians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Hungarians, and Asians in general, were linked to radicalism, deviance, and substandard genes. In 1896, congressional representative Henry Cabot Lodge formed the Immigration Restriction League (IRL) and began pressing for federal legislation to block "inferior stock" from entering the United States. Southern representatives, who typically focused their racist wrath on African Americans, rallied behind the IRL because they feared that phenotypically white immigrants would have children with southern Blacks and confuse the Jim Crow system. For several decades, the IRL fought with limited success to pass legislation forbidding the entry of immigrants from non-Anglo Saxon countries to better preserve white racial purity.

The biopower tool of statistics came to their rescue after the publication of the Army Alpha test results, the first mass-administered intelligence assessment to definitively "prove" the inferiority of specific races (Okrent, 2019). Robert Yerkes (i.e., the Army Alpha principal investigator) and Carl Campbell Brigham (the creator of the Scholastic Achievement Test) joined forces to analyze the data, which had been culled

together from an enormous sample of Army recruits and disaggregated by the eugenic conception of race. The astounding results, shared through popular magazine articles as well as Brigham's (1923) book, *A Study in American Intelligence*, "proved" that immigrants from the aforementioned countries, along with Asians, were predominantly feebleminded. Presentations of the results clarified that precisely 6,346,856 immigrants in the U.S. were of inferior or very inferior intelligence. Statistics secured for the IRL their final triumph: the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act (also referred to as the 1924 Immigration Act), which prohibited the immigration of most Asians and set severe quotas for others from the aforementioned nations. It also prohibited the country from granting entry to asylum seekers and effectively ended the legal immigration of people from African countries.

Of all the weapons of biopower that were deployed through the eugenic projects of scientific racism, sterilization, and immigration law, statistics and normalization (Foucault, 1995, 2004) were among its most powerful tools. Normalization in the United States set the optimal model as the white, Anglo Saxon male and initiated scientific racism through race degeneration and race suicide theory. Normalization functioned through scientific racism and led to policies and legislation to control Black and other marginalized populations through coercive birth control projects, such as the extreme practice of forced sterilizations; people deemed incapable of achieving the optimal, white, Anglo-Saxon norm were subjected to institutionalization and other laws prohibiting reproduction and marriage; immigration from nearly all non-Anglo-Saxon origins was arrested. Statistics were deployed to justify these projects, and were generated through assessments of mental inferiority, such as the Army Alpha and Binet-Simon intelligence tests. The quantification of mental deficiency through mental testing

ensured the scientization of eugenics by providing data to “prove” the intellectual inferiority of all but the supreme, white, Anglo-Saxon male. Mental testing not only provided the powerful technology that swayed public opinion and fomented political movements premised on race inferiority, but also established the foundation for gifted education.

Eugenic Projects in American Education: The Emergence of Gifted Education

In the 1918 textbook, *Applied Eugenics* (Popenoe & Johnson) the authors asserted that education systems must function as, “a sieve through which all children in the country are passed" and "which will enable the teacher to determine just how far it is profitable to educate each child that he may lead a life of greatest possible usefulness to the state and happiness to himself” (as cited in McCune, 2012, p. 96). As it turns out, the U.S. school system was deeply influenced by eugenic ideologies, although they are typically thought of in the context of policies related to forced sterilization and controlled human breeding projects. Eugenic *ideologies* (as opposed to visible eugenic policies) that centered conceptions of the heritability of subjective human abilities and behaviors (e.g., intelligence, deviance) were directly applied to compulsory public education in terms of both theory and practice. Industrial efficiency, which encouraged the elimination of wasted resources by structuring schools so that they resembled well-run factories (Kliebard, 2004), provided the medium for the flourishing of eugenic ideologies related to human potential. The “sieve” to which Popenoe and Johnson referred was often provided by mental tests, which were used to determine which students were most profitable to educate to the furthest extent possible, and then to assign resources commensurate with their assumed potential. Rooted in the eugenic theory of the

heritability of intelligence, the practice of using mental tests to predict a child's potential and the concurrent school opportunities they should be offered formed the foundation of gifted education technologies.

Mental Testing

As evidenced by the impact that mental tests had on U.S. legislation (i.e., the Army Alpha and the Binet-Simon tests), statistics generated through intelligence testing represent one of the most formidable weapons of biopower. The use of statistics to quantify a construct so fundamental to human dignity, intelligence, is a particularly harmful legacy of eugenics in education. The technology of mental tests was innovated by many of the same historical actors that produced or advanced eugenics. Lewis Madison Terman is sometimes credited with providing the foundation for the modern intelligence test (Gould, 1996), but Francis Galton was one of the first scholars to attempt fashioning a mental test of ability (Murdoch, 2007). Galton developed "neurological efficiency theory" and reasoned that a more intelligent person would have faster reflexes, implying better neurological functioning. He designed a mental test that assessed subjects' agility with physical tasks, such as striking an object quickly and accurately. Eventually, he was joined in this effort by the American psychologist James Cattel who developed the concept of mental testing with psychologists in the U.S.

However, these early attempts failed to gain traction. It was the Frenchman, Alfred Binet, who worked with his student Theodore Simon to develop the first mental test which became accepted by mainstream science (Gould, 1996). The test measured "thinking" (as opposed to neurological efficiency through physical responses) and was designed for the French government to assist in identifying students for special education

services. The Binet-Simon test arranged a battery of questions along a scale, which was scored in order to equate performance with a specific mental age. The utility of this assessment was intendent to identify children who needed extra help in school, but Binet worried that mental age would be taken far too literally by educators and that they would use the test to conclude, "'Here is an excellent opportunity for getting rid of all the children who trouble us,' …without the true critical spirit, they designate all who are unruly, or disinterested in the school" (Binet, 1905, as cited in Gould, 1996, p. 181). He was also concerned that his assessment would be misconstrued as highly accurate; he recognized that each application of the test could produce variable results and represented a rough approximation of a student's reasoning at a given moment in time. In other words, he wanted his test to be used formatively in order to provide additional support to help students learn.

After Binet and Simon published their Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale in 1911, it wasn't long before American eugenics became entwined with the mental testing movement (Murdoch, 2007). In the United States, the psychologist Henry Herbert Goddard translated and popularized the Binet-Simon test. While the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale was used widely and for various purposes, Lewis Terman soon redeveloped it into his own version: the Stanford-Binet Assessment, which operationalized the Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.) still widely used today. The Stanford-Binet assessment differed from the Binet-Simon in that it standardized the scale with a mean of 100 (i.e., correlated with a subject's actual chronological age), extended the scale to include "superior adults," and added additional items, such as the following example:

> An Indian who had come to town for the first time in his life saw a white man riding along the street. As the white man rode by, the Indian said—'The white man is lazy; he walks sitting down.' What was the white man riding on that caused the Indian to say, 'He walks sitting down' (as cited in Gould, 1996, p. 205).

It is significant that then, as now, the Stanford-Binet and other I.Q. tests proport to measure a universal construct of intelligence that is often described as "abstract reasoning" (Gould, 1996, p. 204); the assertion is that abstract reasoning can be measured in a neutral fashion, which transcends cultural contexts, language, time and location. That is, the possibility of bias has supposedly been eliminated through a rigorous item construction process and verified through specific statistical procedures. However, in the above example, Terman would only accept as correct the answer "bicycle" and not "horse," although Gould mentions that, "I myself answered 'horse,' because I saw the Indian as a clever ironist, criticizing an effete city relative" (p. 206). Although the bias in this example is self-evident today and items have been revised over time, the assumption of universality and cultural neutrality remains. Additionally, the Stanford-Binet assessment was immediately recognized by the scientific community as psychometrically sophisticated and has maintained its status as the gold standard of intelligence testing to this day (Murdoch, 2007).

Unlike Binet, Terman was a staunch eugenicist and believed that intelligence was innate, fixed and heritable, distinct from any cultural influence or educational background (Murdoch, 2007). He was a devotee of Francis Galton, whom he proclaimed to possess an I.Q. of over 200, though he had of course never met him (Terman, 1917). Terman

advocated for the Stanford Binet to be administered universally and in the same manner as the Army Alpha in order to classify all children across a school (Gould, 1996). Furthermore, he positioned the test as essential to the cause of eugenics by advocating for sterilization of individuals with low scores:

> It is safe to predict that in the near future intelligence tests will bring tens of thousands of these high-grade defectives under the surveillance and protection of society. This will ultimately result in curtailing the reproduction of feeble-mindedness and in the elimination of an enormous amount of crime, pauperism, and industrial inefficiency. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the high-grade cases, of the type now so frequently overlooked, are precisely the ones whose guardianship it is most important for the State to assume (Terman, 1916, p. 6-7).

Terman's use of the terms "high-grade," "borderline," and "low grade" refer to Goddard's nomenclature in classifying distinctions between "defectives" (Gould, 1996). In the above quote, Terman described that less obviously mentally "defective" individuals (i.e., high-grade) are the easiest to overlook in terms of the State's authority to revoke their agency in society, and thus especially dangerous. Terman also correlated I.Q. scores with morality and work ethic, stating directly that those with low I.Q. scores are criminals and poor (inefficient) workers. In this same book, his 1916 publication of the Stanford-Binet assessment manual, he elaborated on this point:

> Not all criminals are feeble-minded, but all feeble-minded persons are at least potential criminals. That every feeble-minded woman is a potential prostitute would hardly be disputed by anyone. Moral judgment, like business judgment, social judgment, or any other kind of higher thought process, is a function of

> intelligence. Morality cannot flower and fruit if intelligence remains infantile (p.11).

He also provided support for the American Eugenics Movement through scientific racism, subordinating people of color by equating mental age with racial categories:

> High-grade or border-line deficiency... is very, very common among Spanish-Indian and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial, or at least inherent in the family stocks from which they come... Children of this group should be segregated into separate classes... They cannot master abstractions but they can often be made into efficient workers... from a eugenic point of view they constitute a grave problem because of their unusually prolific breeding (p. 91-92).

Father and Mother of Gifted Education

Like his hero, Francis Galton, Terman's most persistent obsession concerned the preservation of "geniuses" through "positive eugenics" (Beauvais, 2016). In addition to studying the lifestyles and accomplishments of geniuses discovered in childhood, he was also concerned with disproving the "mad genius" theory (Hegarty, 2007), or the assumption that highly intelligent people tended toward deviance and insanity. Eugenic ideology used the biopower tool of normalization to define the optimal model of man as intelligent, even very intelligent, but not exactly a "genius" far outside the norm. Thus, for Terman, his epic research into geniuses represented an act of justice, his own humanitarian cause in defending the integrity of the frighteningly smart. Terman was inspired by Plato's vision of philosopher kings (Gould, 1996) and sought to prove the worth of geniuses through his vision for a genetically-informed meritocracy. With this

motivation, Terman undertook the most enduring longevity study of human subjects in psychology to this day (Jolly, 2008), the five-volume *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Terman 1925a; Terman et al., 1926, 1930, 1947, 1959). This vast study collated data collected over decades from over 1,000 individuals who were identified as gifted as young child via the Stanford-Binet I.Q. assessment; articulated the characteristics, lifestyles, social-emotional proclivities, and life outcomes of the gifted; and formed a dense and sturdy foundation for the field of gifted education. With such a legacy, it is unsurprising that Terman has often been called the "father" of gifted education (Jolly, 2018, NAGC, n.d.a).

While Terman had many eugenic colleagues in the mental testing movement, it is worth highlighting one particularly influential figure, Leta Stetter Hollingworth, who joined him in the fight to preserve and proliferate the nation's geniuses. The purported "mother of gifted education" (Silverman, 1989) collaborated with Terman on several projects (see Hollingworth et al., 1940), but Hollingworth became interested in geniuses all on her own as a professor of psychology at Columbia University (Selden, 2000). Her study, *Children above 180 IQ Stanford-Binet: Origin and Development*, which was posthumously published in 1942, speaks to her epic career in establishing gifted education as a field alongside Terman. She published eight books and over 70 articles on the topic (Hertberg-Davis, 2013), established the first school for the gifted in 1936 and published the first textbook on gifted education (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.a). Although she did not actually create a powerful mental test as Terman did, she applied the Stanford-Binet in varied contexts and for the purpose of advancing the eugenic cause.

In no uncertain terms, Hollingworth located giftedness in the genes, and those genes in the stock of white affluence: "almost all eminent persons (are) born of parents above average in social status… these children will be superior, as a group, if 'like begets like'" (Hollingworth, 1926, p. 12). She provided an endorsement for the 1924 Immigration Act by insisting that the illiterate immigrants who arrived in the early 20th century produced a very small number of gifted children, as well as by highlighting more specifically through her research that, "American children of Italian parentage show a low average of intelligence" (1926, p. 71). Like Terman, she supported a positive-eugenics orientation and advocated financial rewards to compensate superior adults for producing gifted children. She nurtured scientific racism by asserting that I.Q. was correlated with ethnicity, and she advocated for the discontinuation of special education programs because she considered money spent on the feebleminded to be a waste of resources (Osgood, 2010).

If biopower constitutes the biopolitical "control of populations" (Foucault, 1990, p. 140) gifted education represented a fertile field in which to operationalize its educational mission. Foucault described that with the advent of biopower, there was, "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations" (p. 140). Biopower expressed itself in the American Eugenics Movement through education, as Popenoe and Johnson (1918) suggested, in order to sift out the educable students from the less educable and to assign appropriate resources in order to avoid waste. The control of human populations was achieved through education by determining who would be the affluent class, the future leaders of democracy, by delivering the most rigorous and enriched learning experiences, and who

would constitute the working class, by providing an unambiguously simplistic and low-level education. The process of sifting the masses for future life purposes required the techniques of biopower that gifted education helped to innovate.

Terman and Hollingworth were at the fore of these efforts, and together developed many such technologies: the optimal norm of the superior gifted child against which all others are subordinate; the prolific use of mental testing to statistically quantify giftedness; the vehement support for a theory of the genetic heritability of giftedness as a fixed, unchanging substance endowed to those from the best stock; the advocacy for meritocracy through the prioritization of superlative educational resources for those identified as gifted; the correlation of I.Q. with racial hierarchy and by implication, the notion that few, if any, children of color (or unwhite whites) could ever be gifted; the support for the increased breeding of the gifted and suppressed breeding of the "feebleminded"; the research evidence willingly offered to prevent immigration of all but the Aryan race. Terman and Hollingworth, mother and father of gifted education, alongside their forerunner, Francis Galton, are the key historical figures related to my study. In the next section, I have examined historiography related to their lives, works, and ideologies, but this time, I have drawn the literature written by scholars of gifted education.

Historiography Addressing Eugenics in Gifted Education

As far as I can tell, very little has been written about the history of eugenics within the field of gifted education. Only within the last decade or so has any substantial literature emerged that addresses the history of the field by its own scholars (Jolly, 2006, 2008, 2018; Jolly & Warne, 2019; Robinson & Jolly, 2013; Warne, 2019; Winkler &

Jolly, 2011, 2014). However, the treatment of the topic of eugenics within these works is problematic because it either ignores the subject completely (Jolly, 2004), barely acknowledges it (Jolly, 2018), approaches the subject with a conservative or apologetic tone (e.g., Hertberg-Davis, 2013), or actually praises the eugenic ideologies espoused by the field's founders (VanTassel-Baska, 2013; Warne, 2019). While some of this literature explores eugenic ideology more deeply than others, most of it is concerned with settling the question regarding how contemporary gifted education scholars should make sense of this history. Almost all of these pieces conclude that gifted education scholars should embrace the good ideas these eugenic founders established (e.g., theories regarding the educational needs of the gifted), and condemn the bad ideas (e.g., advocacy for forced sterilization). This good/bad dichotomy forecloses the opportunity to interrogate these foundational ideologies from the perspective of affirmative presentism (Villaverde et al., 2006), and often ironically reproduces eugenic technologies of biopower by discursively reasserting some of the hegemonic claims of gifted education's eugenic founders.

In this section, I have analyzed three examples of historiography concerning the eugenic foundation of gifted education to illuminate this effect: VanTassel-Baska's (2013) chapter on Francis Galton; Hertberg-Davis's (2013) chapter on Leta Hollingworth; and Russel Warne's (2019) article on Lewis Terman. Furthermore, I have also underlined the lack of criticality in this field's approach to its own history and ultimately, to argue for a deeper engagement with critical history around the legacy of eugenics in gifted education for the purpose of addressing the current inequities that plague the field.

Francis Galton

As I hope to have established, the ideas of Francis Galton provided the framework for the American Eugenics Movement, which resulted in untold atrocities and human rights violations. Yet VanTassel-Baska (2013) described the process of conducting archival research on the life of Francis Galton as a great joy. She asserted that Galton, "indisputably contributed more to gifted education research and development of the field than anyone else in history" (p. 21). Throughout her biography, she lavishes praise upon him, listing Galton's many "achievements," ranging from statistical innovations, such as the development of correlation analysis, to his research on synesthesia and biometrics. Her emplotment (White, 1978) of Galton's childhood and career emphasize his innate genius; for example, she cited childhood letters he wrote that seem to exemplify her claim: "I can say all the Latin Substantives and Adjectives and active verbs besides 52 lines of Latin poetry" (Galton at 4-years-old, as cited in VanTassel-Baska, 2013, p. 9). She reframed the more embarrassing aspects of Galton's life, such as his nervous breakdown at Cambridge University (Murdoch, 2007) as "mental overexertion" (VanTassel-Baska, 2013, p. 11) and his obsession with morbid topics with an ideographic wink: "He commented rather ghoulishly to his uncle, 'Dissecting increases the appetite wonderfully'" (Galton as cited in VanTassel-Baska, 2014, p. 11).

As a historian, VanTassel-Baska seems to have approached Galton's archive with the question, "What accomplishments and qualities of Francis Galton can we celebrate as a field?" This motivation has been addressed by White (1990) who described the preference that many historians show for prioritizing the beautiful and marginalizing "the sublime," which he associated with the more horrific, gruesome and terrifying aspects of history. As Villaverde et al. (2006), have described,

> Preference for the 'beautiful' particularly in renditions of history can be dangerous; dangerous in that it covers/camouflages lived pain, suffering, struggle, loss and the abuse of power. These troublesome pockets of time are what Giroux and Macedo call dangerous memories, those events once remembered that can cause great anger or frustration precisely because of the simultaneous discovery of the intentional suppression… of primary sources" (p. 317).

VanTassel-Baska's deployment of "dangerous memories" in this piece seems to function as a protective mechanism. Her revision of Galton's impact on society and the world, which produced many of the horrors recounted in the first portion of this chapter, appears to be an attempt to wrap the beautiful around the memory of Francis Galton. He is painted as a hero of gifted education, instead of the father of the gruesome movement that caused unspeakable violence.

This is borne out through VanTassel-Baska's (2013) treatment of the topic of eugenics to which she gave short shrift, especially considering its significance in Galton's life and work. On this topic she described that Galton's interest in eugenics was purely positive in that he wanted only to preserve the genes of geniuses, rather than to advocate for the infamous eugenics policies that led to eugenic sterilization laws and other atrocities. This fault, she contends, lies with Galton's protégé, Karl Pearson, who described eugenics in terms of a garden full of weeds in which society's responsibility is to produce flowers and eliminate the lesser vegetation. VanTassel-Baska claimed, "This more reductive view of Galton's theory of eugenics would be used later to argue for white supremacist ideology, but Galton himself was far more focused on the possible accomplishments of the genetically gifted individual, rather than the concept of a *master*

race" (p. 14, emphasis in original). Other scholars of the American Eugenics Movement have located the "reductive view of eugenics" in the work of Francis Galton. For example, Okrent (2019) traced the birth of the "negative eugenics movement" to a presidential address given by Galton at the 7th International Congress of Hygiene and Demography in 1891. In this speech Galton proclaimed, "Much more care is taken to select plants and animals for plantation in foreign settlements than to select appropriate types of men… Discrimination and foresight are shown in the one case, an indifference born of ignorance is shown in the other" (Okrent, 2019, p. 24). Furthermore, in his own writing, Galton (1869/1922) expressed the ideals of white supremacy and scientific racism:

> The average intellectual standard of the negro is some two grades below our own… the number among the negroes of those whom we should call 'half witted' men is very large. Every book alluding to negro servants in America is full of instances. I myself was much impressed by this fact during my travels in Africa. The mistakes the negroes made in their own matters were so childish, stupid, and simpleton-like, as frequently to make me ashamed of my own species" (pp. 327-328).

He wrote these words (among other extremely racist sentiments) in his book *Hereditary Genius,* which is the book that Lewis Terman (1917, 1932) credited with inspiring much of his own ideas about giftedness. VanTassel-Baska argued that it was others who applied Galton's ideas to white supremacy, but Galton had plenty of white supremacist ideas of his own. To absolve Francis Galton of responsibility for the enactment of his racist, eugenic philosophy is profoundly problematic.

VanTassel-Baska's biography reifies the biopower of eugenics through tropic and explicit mechanisms. Her choice of events, chronology and emplotment characterize Francis Galton as a hero of science and in particular of gifted education. Yet it is her unambiguous linking of Galton's eugenic ideology to the present that most explicitly actualizes biopower:

> As much as the idea has been reviled since his death, due partly to its appropriation as a justification for crimes against humanity during the Holocaust, his dream for (eugenics) was altruistic. Like many Victorians, Galton hoped to improve the natural condition of life for future generations. In our current genetic era, the desire is still alive and is being addressed in a number of ways such as through the painstaking delineation of the human genome to prevent disease and demonstrate that individual differences have large effects on health and *future life trajectories* [emphasis added]" (p. 16).

Notwithstanding her erroneous characterization of Nazi "appropriation" of eugenics,[4] her linking of Galton's eugenic vision with the current aspirations of genetic science is concerning. She seems to have implied that eugenics, then as now, should play a role in genetically engineering human society. She asserted that the human genome can by used, as Galton would have wished, to "demonstrate that individual differences have large effects on… future life trajectories."

What does VanTassel-Baska mean by "individual differences" and "future life trajectories?" It seems she has implied that genetic research today has been informed by

[4] Many historians maintain that the American Eugenics Movement directly supplied the policies and precedents to the Third Reich. I've cited archival evidence in Chapter 6 related to this view. Nazi eugenic policies were less an appropriation than a robust and accelerated implementation of eugenic strategies to achieve eugenic goals. For a thorough discussion, see Black, 2003.

Francis Galton's eugenic vision; "individual differences," indexing intelligence (and other subjective human qualities), are biologically based and can be genetically confirmed in order to predict "future life trajectories." This statement not only evokes Popenoe and Johnsons' (1918) eugenic sieve in education, but also encourages the application of contemporary genetic research to eugenic goals. The ethical dilemmas and dangers of current genomic research (see Bliss, 2012, 2018) are set aside in VanTassel-Baska's praise for Galton. This historical narrative reproduces the eugenic technologies of biopower by celebrating Galton's ideas; it obfuscates his overtly racist discourses and brackets his responsibility for the atrocities produced by his eugenic philosophy.

Leta Hollingworth

Hertberg-Davis's (2013) account of Leta Stetter Hollingworth is equally as filled with "dangerous memories" (Villaverde et al., 2006, p. 317), if ever so slightly more critical than VanTassel-Baska's (2013) account of Galton. Yet it is correspondingly redolent with present-day productions of biopower. Her opening description of Hollingworth's life, referencing her love of poetry, is particularly evocative of "the beautiful" (White, 1990): "a journey of healing, of triumph, of a transformation from a 'broken, lonely life,' standing 'silent' and still 'thro' the night and the storm and the darkness' to a 'beautiful proud sea' that 'laughs in happy thunder'…" (p. 81). Echoing VanTassel-Baska's emplotment, Hertberg-Davis detailed the many delightful accomplishments of Hollingworth, ranging from her "Class Poet" award at the University of Nebraska to her publication of six scientific papers before graduating with a Ph.D. from Columbia University. The author characterized Hollingworth using Stanley Hall's (1978) phrase, the "nurturant mother" of gifted education (p. 83), and detailed her

accomplishments in gifted education, including her "pioneering" study of highly intelligent children and her work founding schools and programs devoted exclusively to gifted children.

However, Hertberg-Davis devoted several pages of her biography to the "two sides of Leta's legacy" (p. 92), by exploring her eugenic ideologies. As a Columbia University professor, Hollingworth was surrounded by colleagues, including William Kilpatrick and John Dewey, who were ideologically opposed to eugenics. In his journal, Kilpatrick (1935) asserted that Hollingworth's eugenic discourses evidenced an "unscientific mind" and that her students saw her position as "ridiculous" (as cited in Hertberg-Davis, p. 94). Yet Hertberg-Davis was careful to frame her discussion of Hollingworth's eugenic beliefs in terms of her intellect and eminence: "But whether Leta possessed an *unscientific mind*, as Kilpatrick claimed, is more debatable. Among her numerous other scholarly accomplishments, Leta was listed in *American Men of Science* five years after finishing her Ph.D." (p. 94, emphasis in original). The author also drew attention to Hollingworth's many publications, as well as her successful career in academia at a time that was unprecedented for women. Her conclusion seems clear: Hollingworth's involvement with eugenics was not driven by a lack of intelligence or an "unscientific mind." Hertberg-Davis then asked, "How then, as a field, *do* we reconcile the two very different sides of Leta?" (p. 95, emphasis in original).

Hertberg-Davis (2013) acknowledged the dearth of critical literature in gifted education addressing Hollingworth's relationship with eugenics and even questioned the field of gifted education for continuing to celebrate "Hollingworth as its *nurturant mother*

despite her classist and racist beliefs" (p. 95, emphasis in original). Yet, she concluded with the tone of an apologist:

> Leta's passion for the plight of the gifted child made her extra vigilant in championing their cause and, as a result, led her perhaps too stridently to *prove* through scientific means the biological bases of gifted children's merits and values to society (p. 96, emphasis in original).

While she acknowledged that Hollingworth's eugenic views were "objectionable to many" (p. 95), Hertberg-Davis insisted that Hollingworth's eugenic stance was driven by passionate concern for gifted children. Through her phrase, "plight of the gifted child" this appeal characterized gifted children as marginalized, imperiled, and vulnerable, a contemporary theme in some gifted education literature[5] (e.g. Chu & Meyeres, 2015; Hu, 2019; Pfeiffer & Stocking, 2000; Roedell, 1984; Rinn & Majority, 2018; van der Meulen et al., 2014). Yet in both Hollingworth's era (Jenkins, 1936, as cited in Ford, 1999) and the present, the vast majority of children labeled as gifted are drawn from privileged groups (Callahan, Moon, & Oh, 2014; Ford, 1998; Office of Civil Rights, 2014; Plummer, 1995; Yoon & Gentry, 2009), which makes the notion that they suffered some extreme plight problematic (see Chapter 6 for a thorough discussion). Nonetheless, according to Hertberg-Davis, Hollingworth is to be forgiven for her eugenic beliefs because they were merely the byproduct of strident advocacy and profound care for the gifted.

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[5] However, it should also be noted that a great deal of contemporary research has asserted that children with high I.Q. scores do not suffer from greater mental health issues than those without high scores. Nonetheless, literature continues to present the gifted child as being psychologically vulnerable, particularly when rigorous learning is not made available to them (for example, see Hébert & Smith, 2018).

Hertberg-Davis (2013) went on to suggest that the field of gifted education should acknowledge Hollingworth's relationship with eugenics because its silence on the matter is assumed to signal consent. She offered, "our acknowledgement need not detract from Hollingworth's legacy as an early and prolific contributor to the field" (p. 96). This, despite her acknowledgement that Hollingworth (1926) claimed "paupers are very stupid as a group" (as cited in Hertberg-Davis, p. 95) and that "those whom it is thought highly eugenic to eliminate through lack of offspring are the very ones who most often cannot grasp the message or, grasping it, are indisposed with its conditions" (p. 93). The insistence that the field should continue to celebrate the legacy of Leta Hollingworth despite her eugenic ideologies and the resultant harm caused by them is echoed throughout the scant literature on eugenics in gifted education. However, wouldn't a deep engagement with this legacy of eugenics require an effort to take responsibility for the damage caused in the past as well as the present because of theories and practices in gifted education that center eugenic principles? Such an engagement would foreclose the possibility of any celebration of individuals who embodied and actualized violent, eugenic agendas in the name of "gifted children." Hertberg-Davis's treatment of Hollingworth's eugenic principles reflects a wider apologist agenda within the scant literature from gifted education on this topic, the primary mission of which seems to shelter the status quo within the field and protect it from any disruptive change.

What technologies of biopower are reproduced through this apologist orientation? Excusing and thus, writing off the impact of eugenic ideologies on the foundational theories and practices in gifted education erases them from the conversation around present-day inequities. The implication is that such harmful beliefs have faded into the

mists of time and are no longer relevant. Yet, I argue, their effects are still with us. While state-sanctioned eugenic policies like forced sterilization are (for the most part[6]) not currently enacted in the United States, students of color and others with educationally marginalized identities and classifications continue to be disenfranchised in gifted education (Ford, 1998, 2010b, 2014). The technologies of biopower are reproduced by the obscuration of the history of eugenics in this field, which I contend, must be taken deadly serious if equity and social justice are truly the aims of educational scholars concerned with racism and hegemony in these practices. The technologies of eugenic biopower are reproduced when they go unacknowledged or are written off as irrelevant to present-day discussions of the history of gifted education.

Lewis Terman

Departing from apologism, I have located at least one author whose mission goes further and seeks vindication. The final article I have chosen to highlight comes from a particularly concerning and, in my view, dangerous scholar of gifted education. Russel Warne (2019) has been widely published within the field of gifted education in major journals such as *Multicultural Education* (2009)*, Intelligence* (2016b)*,* and multiple times in *Gifted Child Quarterly* (Warne et al., 2012; Warne, 2011, 2014, 2016a, 2019). Warne (2016a, 2016b) has published papers advocating for the use of "*g"* or "general intelligence" theory, challenging more fluid and culturally malleable conceptions of giftedness that were developed in the 1980s and 90s (e.g., Gardner, 1993; Renzulli, 1988;

[6] In fact, *Buck v. Bell* has never been overturned and some states still have forced sterilization laws. In the 21st century, forced sterilizations have legally been performed in the U.S. on the incarcerated (Suuberg, 2020).

Treffinger & Feldhusen, 1996[7]). He has published contemporary research (Warne & Liu, 2017) using Terman's original data set (Terman et al., 1959) which consists of an almost entirely white, mostly affluent sample. Warne has also published papers about the intellectual superiority of people with European ancestry and the intellectual inferiority of people with African ancestry (2020a), as well as praise for Charles Murray's work (2020b). However, his discussion of Lewis Terman is particularly relevant to this dissertation

Warne (2019) structured his historical analysis of Lewis Terman's legacy around "frequent criticisms of Terman's work" (p. 3). For example, he defended the claim that Terman overemphasized I.Q. by asserting that Terman was justifiably focused on the supremacy of I.Q. scores because measures of intelligence, then as now, reliably predict educational attainment and success in life. Going a step further, he censured, "Many gifted education scholars and practitioners have diverged from Terman's perspective on the importance of intelligence, which has hampered the field's efforts to make connections with the wider psychological community" (p. 5). In another section, he detailed the ways in which Terman's support for an I.Q.-based meritocracy were justified. Describing how Terman drew his views from empirical research and arrived at logical conclusions that are still true, Warne asserted that people with higher I.Q.'s earn more prestigious and better paying jobs. Specifically, he argued,

> The natural economic forces of supply and demand mean that jobs with a higher minimum IQ for entry are often better paying jobs in a capitalistic society... The

[7] Since its inception, there have been noteworthy theoretical shifts within the field of gifted education, including a significant equity movement and attempts to democratize gifted pedagogies and incorporate antiracist frameworks (Boreland, 2005; Ford, 1998; Lo et al., 2019).

> ingredients that Terman saw as necessary for an IQ-based meritocracy continued to exist well past his death and into the modern era (p. 5).

While Warne did acknowledge that certain of Terman's beliefs about an I.Q.-based meritocracy were elitist and antidemocratic, he dismissed them as an object of critique in that they were merely a product of Terman's context. He carried this argument on to the subject of Terman's involvement in the American Eugenics Movement, citing myriad contemporary scientists who also advocated for eugenic policies. Warne's argument is that Terman was enacting the same ideology that all of his colleagues valued. However, as Villaverde et al. (2006) point out,

> No historical era is made up of one perspective—indeed, there are always multiple and conflicting viewpoints coming from a wide diversity of groups. If the objective historian is to examine a historical era from the perspective of those who lived during it, which group's perspective is chosen?" (p. 326).

While the American Eugenics Movement was certainly mainstream, it had many intellectual, spiritual, and ideological opponents ranging from the Catholic Church to Franz Boas to John Dewey (Okrent, 2019; McCune, 2012). Historians may seek to understand the contexts in which certain views were developed, but most do not argue that, for example, Nazi leaders were justified in their actions and beliefs simply because Nazism was a popular view at the time. Why not take up the historical perspective of G.K. Chesterton as expressed in his book, *Eugenics and Other Evils,* which was published in 1922 at the same time that Terman was publishing some of his most racist I.Q.-based claims?

Warne dismissed Terman's involvement in eugenics because of his "change in opinions later in life" (p. 6). Citing Terman's biography by Minton (1988), Warne alleged that by 1935, Terman disavowed eugenics, resigned all of his memberships in eugenic organizations, no longer supported eugenics privately after 1938, and no longer pursued eugenic research. However, Terman's personal communications show that he continued throughout World War II and until his death in 1956 to support eugenic organizations and to accept their funding as well as to allow his work to be used in support of eugenic causes; he also continued to advance his own eugenic research agenda (see Chapter 6).

The reification of eugenic biopower in Warne's article is located in the latter half. Warne's historical analysis of Lewis Terman positioned his racist and eugenic ideology as less concerning than "his willingness to form a strong opinion based on weak data" (p. 3). Referencing transracial adoptions, twin studies, and other contemporary research that "proves" the genetic-basis for intelligence, Warne declared that only recently has evidence become clear that mean racial group differences in I.Q. scores have genetic causes. He explained,

> Although environmental differences between Black and White individuals on a worldwide scale (e.g., comparing wealthy White Americans with Black sub-Saharan Africans in extreme poverty) are plausibly large enough to cause between-group genetic differences to drop to zero, environmental differences between Black and White Americans are not large enough to make these groups' intelligence score differences entirely environmental… this evidence indicates that genes have a nonzero influence on group differences in intelligence (p. 16).

While his language is technical and carefully placed, Warne described that contemporary studies of measurement invariance in I.Q. assessments reveal the presence of the genetic component of race-based mean group differences in I.Q. tests: Blacks score lower than whites on average, partly because of environmental factors, but also because of the "nonzero" effect of inferior genes.

Warne (2019) deferred to the cold, hard proofs of the empiricist's worldview: the data bear out objective reality, and good scientists must simply report the facts. Terman is constructed as a purely objective scientist who rationally based his beliefs on the observable evidence before him. Yet Warne seemed to imply that if Terman had access to contemporary evidence from the field of intelligence studies, he would have constructed a more complex, nuanced, and thus a more powerful conception of race science and race. Warne's own research agenda has picked up where Terman left off in pursuit of scientific racism, including a recent publication asserting the genetic basis for white superiority and Black inferiority in intelligence (Warne, 2020a) and praise for Charles Murray's recent work on the racial hierarchy of intelligence (2020b). Refracted through his own biased lens, Warne's representation of Terman is one of the more extreme examples of eugenic technologies of biopower reproduced through historiography within gifted education. If there is any doubt that Warne's analysis of Terman is not being taken seriously, it should be noted that this article was published quite recently (2019) in the leading journal for gifted education research, *Gifted Child Quarterly*.

Troubling Historiography in Gifted Education

Each of these historical narratives, placed alongside the scant body of literature on eugenics in gifted education published over the decades, reveals not only a lack of critical

consciousness, but a persistent interest, sometimes expressed tacitly, in carrying forward the ideology of eugenics into the present moment: VanTassel-Baska's (2013) suggestions that Francis Galton's eugenic theories have contemporary utility; Hertberg-Davis's (2013) apologist account that Hollingworth's eugenic views were expressions of caring support for the gifted; and finally, Warne's (2019) self-proclaimed vindication of Lewis Terman's racist, eugenic application of intelligence testing. Through their historical narratives, each of these authors performed a kind of reification of eugenic biopower. Their historical accounts affirmed a perception of human intelligence as biologically based in the genes, and its measurement as a relevant tool for ordering and controlling student populations. These histories not only perpetuate the lack of sufficiently critical interrogation into the field of gifted education, some construct eugenic ideals as useful. The failure of these authors to take full political and ethical responsibility for the ongoing damage caused by the legacy of racist, eugenic ideologies in gifted education proliferates eugenic biopower.

Conclusion

Galton's original definition for eugenics was,

> [T]he science of improving stock, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious mating, but which… takes cognisance (*sic*) of *all influences* [emphasis added] that tend in however remote degree to give the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had (Galton, 1883, cited in Paul, 1995, p. 3).

In this chapter, I have curated literature that extrapolates the American Eugenics Movement beyond its traditional definition as a project for controlled human

reproduction. Eugenics as a social movement has been hard to define and is a slippery thing, changing constantly over time and even in our modern era, but Galton's definition explicitly delineates that the scope of eugenics encompassed much more than "judicious mating." Eugenics represents systems of resource allocation through which "more suitable races" should receive "a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable."

Eugenic projects have included a wide range of systems that support the unequal and inequitable distribution of resources within a white supremacist society. In the first half of the century, eugenics took up immigration, segregation, race purity, racial hierarchy, and political agency among many other projects. In terms of public education, eugenics described that the best educational resources should be set aside for those genetically fit enough to take full advantage of them. Its projects were and continue to be inequitable distribution of educational resources, including rigorous, enriched curriculum, early access to critical thinking and creative problem solving, college preparatory learning, and high expectations. This project has been most visible via the racial disparities in the U.S. education system between those who have access to rigorous, high-quality learning resources and those who do not.

The historical context out of which gifted education emerged is both complex and protean. Preceded by centuries of colonial discourses and inhumane practices based on racial hierarchy and an emerging race science, the American Eugenics Movement provided the juridical policies to uphold white supremacy. Darwinism, social Darwinism and colonial race science influenced Francis Galton's articulation of eugenic policy, and his theory of the genetic mediation of intelligence. Lewis Terman, inspired by Francis

Galton, not only supported eugenic policies and rhetoric, but incorporated those ideologies into his own work. Leta Hollingworth followed suit and pursued eugenic projects in gifted education, especially those related to meritocracy.

The remainder of this dissertation serves to develop this point. Historical continuities between the eugenic ideologies, systems and practices of the early part of the 20th century and today's inequities have shown up in my ethnographic data from Greenfield Public Schools. White supremacist eugenic ideologies still function in and through this unequal distribution of resources, as well as assumptions about the genetic heritability of human intelligence, including the ideas that some are born smarter than others and that the capacity to excel academically is limited to a subset of (mostly white) students. Furthermore, the explicit racist tenets of Hollingworth and Terman, as well as other American eugenicists, live on as evinced by the ongoing underrepresentation of students of color in gifted education (Ford et al, 2020). Eugenics was so much more than a movement about sterilization and better baby contests. In many respects, it was just another mask that white supremacy wore. That mask was, and still is, dressed up in the garb of "science," seeking a more convincing presentation than religion or philosophy could provide.

Chapter 3

The Multitool: Methodologies and Methods

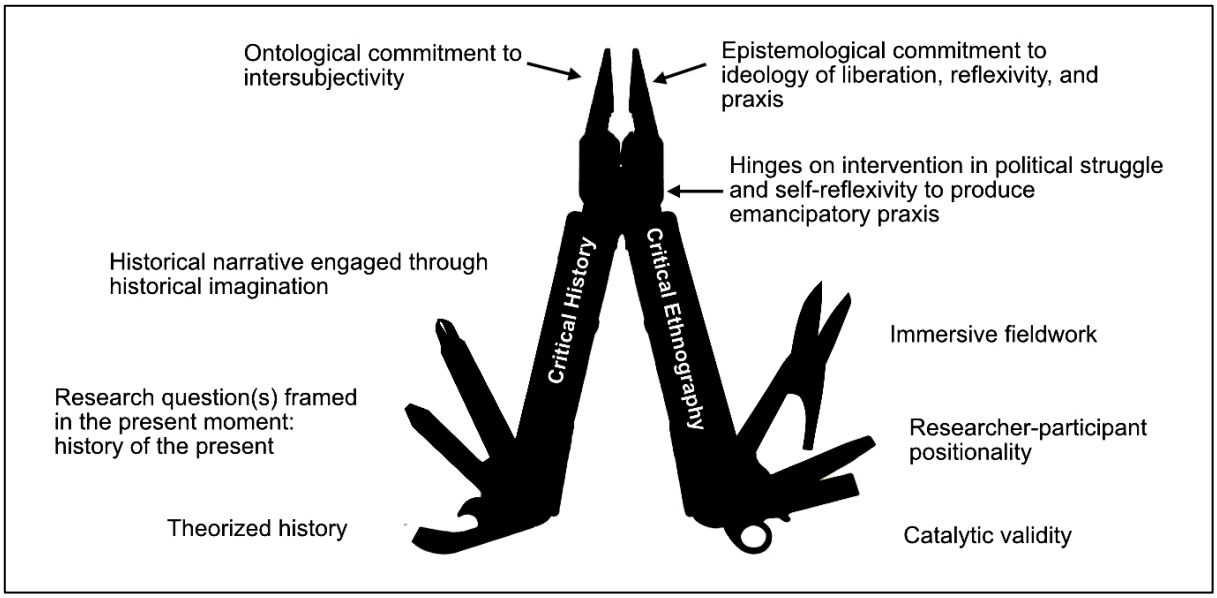
As described in Chapter 1, the methodologies and methods I used in this dissertation research represent an interdisciplinary approach, which combines critical history with critical ethnography. There seems to be a resonance between critical research methodologies. Critical historical analysis and critical ethnography have reciprocal and complimentary commitments and methods that have allowed for an exploration of "pasts present and presents past" (Kleinberg et al., 2018, p. 10). I have combined these methodologies to form what I like to think of as a multitool (see Figure 2). Like the Leatherman Multitool my dad once used to fix all manner of broken things around the house, this metaphor has helped me to conceptualize the utilitarian aspects of this mixed methodology. In particular, the multitool represents the combined capacity of critical historical and ethnographic research to produce a dialogical relationship between the present and the past wherein ethnographic fieldwork has informed an ongoing engagement with the archive. The multitool, with its extendable appendages, can be used to sift around in the present while unfolding its extra-long pinching-arm back into the past to work with primary sources and secondary historiography. In this way, I used the multitool to pass material back and forth between past and present in order to construct an understanding of the legacy of eugenics relevant to the here and now.

This approach was not linear, but rather, methodologically reciprocal. Both the English terms "reciprocal" and "reciprocity" are derived from the Latin term *reciproco*, the verb form of which means to rise and fall, come and go, or move back and forth (Hoad, 2003). Whereas "reciprocal" implies an interrelated give-and-take, reciprocity

means "the practice of exchanging things with others for mutual benefit" (Lexico, p. 1). Reciprocity represents a significant framework for my implementation of these methodologies as well as an ethical commitment. I have also imagined this approach as "surfing the dialogic," which represents my effort to work Conquergood's (1982) conception of dialogical performance into this writing. As he described it, "More than a definite position, the dialogical stance… brings self and other together even while it holds them apart. It is more like a hyphen than a period" (p. 10). Although I have found that historical and ethnographic research in the critical paradigm have much in common, there are definite edges and boundaries between them. I have worked to articulate the ways in which these two methodologies have shared space within this study while retaining their distinctive features.

Figure 2.

The Multitool: Dialogical and Reciprocal Methods between Critical History and Critical Ethnography



Note. This illustration shows the shared epistemological and ontological commitments between critical ethnography and critical historical research, as well as the distinctive, yet complimentary data collection and analysis methods from each tradition.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the evolution and elements of critical approaches to ethnography and history, as well as their antecedent, critical theory. I then explored critical history and critical ethnography in order to articulate the reciprocal relationship that exists between these research approaches by digging deeper into the epistemological and ontological congruities that can be used to produce liberatory insights. I also illustrated the utility of critically informed historical and ethnographic research with examples of studies that demonstrate this potential for interdisciplinarity, as well as the limitations and ethical dilemmas present in each approach. Finally, I have outlined the specific methods of my dissertation research with an emphasis on the potential for symbiosis between approaches to data collection, analysis, and representation from each methodology.

Methodology

Critical Approaches to Ethnography and History: A Brief Overview

Critical ethnography and critical history share a foundation in critical theory. Many scholars trace the birth of critical theory to the Frankfurt School (Bohman, 2005), which was a German think tank founded in 1923 that produced innovative, transdisciplinary philosophy grounded in Marxism (McLaughlin, 1999). Although the German philosophers who seeded the original commitments of critical theory did not wholeheartedly agree on a universal definition for it (Giroux, 2003), its central features served a pragmatic purpose: to produce theory that strives to emancipate the oppressed

and expose the forces of domination in order to "transform *all* circumstances that enslave human beings" (Bohman, 2005, p. 3). The founders of critical theory, including Fromm, Adorno, and Horkheimer (McLaughlin, 1999) grounded democratic values in their mission of liberation because "all conditions of social life that are controllable by human beings depend on real consensus" (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1982, pp. 249-250).

Since its origins and because of its humanistic aims, critical theory has broadened widely to include many fields of inquiry as well as polemics and hybridizations resulting from structural-functionalist, poststructuralist, and postmodern theoretical turns (Agger, 1991; Best & Kellner, 1991; Habermas, 1979; How, 2017). Its central defining epistemological feature continues to be a commitment to end oppression as well as a morally-informed, anti-positivistic critique (How, 2017). Fields and methodologies rooted in critical theory often emphasize a Frankfurt School thesis derived from Marx: the oneness of theory and practice, also known as "praxis" (Renault, 2016). Patti Lather (1986a) succinctly defined this term as "interactive, reciprocal shaping of theory and practice" (p. 258). Praxis describes theory-in-action, which is also a recursive process of "action and reflection on the world in order to change it" (hooks, 2014, p.14). In the critical paradigm, theory is only useful if it can be *used.* Praxis should function to produce emancipatory transformation across society and within lived experiences.

Finally, the critical paradigm leverages reflexivity in order to expose underlying assumptions and moral-political commitments to frame the organization of knowledge (Agger, 1991). The "reflexive turn" (Foley, 2002) articulated an ontological schema that recognized reality as socially constructed through intersubjectivity. This recognition influenced researcher praxis in that the individual(s) conducting research was recognized

as being situated within a socioculturally constructed reality, prompting the need for a theory of reflexivity. The reflexive practitioner can only ever "know the historical, socially constructed reality in a partial-provisional sense" (Foley, 2002, p. 473). Self-reflection and reflexivity, though related, have different meanings that become significant when applied to research. The roots of reflexivity may be found in the symbolic interactionist perspective, which describes the action of analyzing one's own experience and positionality in order to render oneself "Other" and part of the milieu of the research context (Babcock, 1980). Moreover, reflexivity is meant to problematize the relationship between self and other by producing a dialectical or hermeneutic process of inquiry (Gallagher, 1992). Thus, reflexivity is both a recognition of intersubjectivity as a key ontological understanding and an epistemological commitment to the production of knowledge self-aware of this framing of reality.

Critical History

The reflexive turn found its way into the field of history as well. Originally grounded in empiricism, historical research was challenged by the burgeoning social theories of the 1960s (Surkis et al., 2012), which produced epistemological, ontological and methodological turns that increasingly emphasized critical theory (Segall, 1999). Additionally, the "linguistic turns" of the 1980s (Surkis, 2012) brought post-structuralism and post-modernism into conversation with traditional historical methodologies. In particular, scholars such as Hayden White (1973) and Robert Berkhofer (1988) disrupted positivistic notions of the historian-as-scientist and advocated that "history must take a more reflexive meaning, one that shows its social constructed nature" (Berkhofer, 1995, p. 8). Evoking critical theory, these literary and social theorists insisted on a recognition

that historians can never be neutral observers and that the historian's choice of language, chronology, sources, and interpretations are always shaped by intersubjective sociocultural factors (Samuel, 1992). White (1978), as a literary critic, challenged the establishment to recognize that all historical writing is both ideological and discursive and that, "by drawing historiography nearer to its origins in literary sensibility, we should be able to identify the ideological because it is the fictive element in our own discourse" (p. 99).

However, the positivistic historical establishment failed to permanently integrate these interpretivist and critical frameworks. According to Kleinberg (2012), several decades of an overemphasis on the representational features of language in historical research resulted in theoretical backlash or a "return to the real" (p. 1). Kleinberg, together with colleagues Joan Wallach Scott and Gary Wilder (2018) formed the "Wild on Collective" in order to disrupt this overwhelming positivism and declared a political movement in historical scholarship: #Theoryrevolt. These historians characterized the current state of historical research and writing as a "fetishism of method" and "an unquestioned allegiance to ontological realism" (p. 2). They opined the lack of theoretical diversity found in major historical publications and insisted on the recentering of critical theory in pursuit of historical inquiry. Most significantly, the collective's primary critique of current scholarship in history was that its "anti-theoretical preoccupation with empirical facts and realist arguments…reinforce the scholarly and political status quo" (p. 5).

Kleinberg et al. (2018) defined critical history in very straightforward terms: "Critical history is theorized history" (p. 8). The authors were careful to point out that

this was not a call for historians to become theorists per se, but rather that history should dynamically engage critical theory to disrupt the positivism that characterizes most contemporary historical scholarship. Furthermore, the role of theory in critical history should be to, "produce theoretically informed history and historically grounded theory" (p. 8). Critical history should not only engage critical theory methodologically, but regard theory itself as an artifact of history. Traditional approaches to historical research apply a process of primary and secondary source selection to build a foundation of evidence in support of historical narrative (McCullagh, 2000); historians mine sources to establish context and theories of causation, continuity and change over time, as well as periodization or a thematic organization related to time (Rampolla, 2015). However, the critical approach to history emphasizes not only theorized history, but also reflexivity (Kleinberg et al., 2018), intervention in political struggles (Villaverde et al., 2006), the ontological commitment to intersubjectivity (White, 1973) and a metaphysically progressive conceptualization of time (Kleinberg, 2012). The "Wild on Collective" have been instrumental in definitively outlining the commitments of critical history, by their own admission this approach is rarely brought into the mainstream and is still a marginalized methodology in historical scholarship.

Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography, on the other hand, has a well-established, coherent foundation and is used a great deal in educational research (Palmer & Caldas, 2015). According to Madison (2020), the distinction between ethnography and *critical* ethnography is the ethical responsibility the researcher centers in their practice. Critical ethnographies concern the lived experiences of oppressed or marginalized people with

the explicit mission to conduct the research in such a way that direct benefits to the community are generated (Costagno, 2012; Lather, 1986a; Tuck, 2009). At a basic level, ethnography requires immersive fieldwork in a particular lived domain and often includes interviews, focus groups, and other forms of qualitative data collection. However, in critical ethnography, the act of research itself becomes a form of activism and functions as liberatory praxis. In many respects, critical ethnographers engage critical theory and the end-game of the critical project, emancipation, with greater philosophical depth as compared to historians. This is likely a product of the ways in which critical ethnographers have grappled with the legacy of colonizer-anthropologists who have used ethnography to objectify, exploit, belittle, even demonize marginalized communities (Jordan & Yeomans, 1995).

My interest in the epistemological and ontological commitments shared by history and ethnography within the critical paradigm gain clarity through the writings of critical ethnographers. For starters, intersubjectivity takes on much greater significance in the work of critical ethnography. Rather than merely recognizing that the nature of reality is socially constructed and mediated by sociocultural factors, critical ethnographers often interrogate the role that research itself plays in producing harmful intersubjective understandings of self, Other, culture, reality, and possibility through colonizing forces and white supremacy.

Critical ethnographers strive to be hyper-aware of their situatedness through participant engagement. Fine (1994) has described the "Master Narratives" drawn from white, imperialist, colonial worldviews, which construct "Others" (i.e., the "subjects" of research) as deviant in relation to "the articulate, professional voice" (p. 73). She

described that an "Other" is needed in order to define the superlative (usually white, male, Eurocentric) identity of the researcher, and that traditional research has defined "whose lives get displayed and whose lives get protected by social science" (p. 73). Fine operationalized the ontological commitment to intersubjectivity by encouraging critical researchers to reject self-serving and harmful constructions of Others and instead, to "work the hyphen" between self and others. "By working the hyphen, I mean to suggest that researchers probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations" (p. 72). By articulating the relational and dialogic nature of engaging research participants, Fine offered a succinct approach to self-reflexive praxis that I find useful.

Reflexivity is a significant topic in critical ethnographic writing. It is deeply tied to the critical paradigm's commitment to use praxis in order to end oppression, often in radical ways. By recognizing the explicit subjective situatedness of all human perception, reflexivity represents a direct challenge to positivism's claim to objective neutrality (Foley, 2002). In critical ethnography, multiple traditions of reflexivity can be noted: confessional, theoretical, and deconstructive, among others (Foley, 2002). While confessional reflexivity tends to dwell on the ethical dilemmas and methodological missteps a researcher made, theoretical and deconstructive reflexivity address the researcher's socially constructed identity, attempts at meaning-making, and problematics with conceptions of truth-telling. For example, Chadderton (2012) has written eloquently in the confessional self-reflexive genre about decentering the reification of white supremacy in her study of minority secondary students.

Critical approaches to history and ethnography center an intersubjective ontological framework, and an epistemology based on praxis, reflexivity, and a politicoethical, humanistic ideology. Critical ethnography advances my understanding of epistemological and ontological commitments within critical history by exposing the weak underbelly of these ideals in practice. While historians usually spend a lot of time in dusty archives gathering research material in the form of yellowed papers and photographs, critical ethnographers engage directly with real, living people in present time and are often confronted by the immediate effects of their own actions. In the next section, I have described the epistemological and ontological reciprocity between these two approaches by stretching the commitments of critical history through field-tested problematics from critical ethnography. I have used examples from recent research to illustrate a priori exemplars for bringing an interdisciplinary approach to these methodologies. Critical histories often do engage living participants, especially when oral histories are used, and critical ethnographers often do extensive historical research to frame their understanding of the communities they study. These examples serve to model the interdisciplinary congruity that already exists between these research methodologies.

Epistemological and Ontological Reciprocity

I have structured this section around three of Kleinberg et al.'s (2018) theses in order to unpack them and generate the dialogical relationship and reciprocal potential of critical ethnography to develop and problematize these ideals.

1.) "Critical history is a history of the present" (p. 10).

Kleinberg et al. (2018) underscored the ways in which the past continues to live in the present and produces "uncanny returns, haunting traces and spectral forces, or

nonsynchronous contradictions within an untimely now" (p. 10). The importance of their definition is that it features a metaphysical conception of time as nonlinear: the past does not necessarily stay put (Kleinberg, 2012). Furthermore, history as a time-sequencing activity is useless unless it can be shared in such a way that its relevance to oppressions in the current moment is clear. By situating history within the here-and-now, the past becomes a portal to the present where it can do the work of liberatory praxis. Foucault (1995), perhaps the most well-known historian of the present, valued a genealogical approach the historical research and narrative (Garland, 2014). He defined his conception of genealogy in terms of the historical question: "I begin my analysis from a question posed in the present" (Foucault, 1984, as cited in Kritzman, 1988, p. 262). The historical question that begins the inquiry and the resulting historical narrative must be intensely relevant to the present and catalytic or disruptive in some way.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1995), Foucault traced the genealogy of the modern prison system in order to understand how power over the body functions across sectors in contemporary society (e.g., education, psychiatry, medicine, the military, etc.). This history of the present is less an account of "how did we get here?" than it is an excavation of deeply internalized societal norms and practices that represent taken-for-granted oppressions. The result is a history of Western European civilization that describes the ways in which power and control over the populace shifted with the advent of democratic political structures and ideologies that eventually formed the foundation of modern society expressed as the "carceral city" (p. 293) This history furthers the overarching project of critical theory by provoking both a recognition of and a rebellion against the

many coded instruments of power that oppress and yet have become the status quo in the present day.

Critical ethnographers form histories of the present in dynamic ways that can both stretch and elucidate this thesis. If histories of the present are conducted from a question posed in and relevant to the present moment, the critical ethnographer's use of history actualizes this thesis by relating it directly to lived experiences happening in the here and now. Whereas Foucault's (1995) *Discipline and Punish* worked exclusively with archival material and secondary sources, ethnographic methods that draw histories closer to the present include oral history interviews. Madison (2020) described the significance of oral histories in ethnography: "History makes Interlocutors and Interlocutors make history, and the dynamic reciprocity of this present subjectivity and past materiality is witnessed through oral history performance" (p. 41). She stressed the phenomenology of memory over the materiality of "historical fact," which is a way of subverting positivistic notions of an objective view of history. In a critical ethnographic context, oral histories legitimize lived experiences and allow felt truths to be reclaimed.

Historical context is also of significance to critical ethnographers who make histories of the present and they sometimes engage archival historical research on communities, events, eras and locations. Ethnographers often have a very pointed reason for unearthing a specific history in order to better understand current circumstances. In her book, *Ghosts in the Schoolyard* (2018), Eve Ewing studied the 2013 closure of schools in Bronzeville, a historically African American neighborhood in Chicago. She created a history of the present by researching Bronzeville's legacy of racism and discrimination to illuminate district officials' claim that schools in this area were

underutilized. As a critical ethnographer, Ewing described her rationale for collating this history:

> It is not possible to fundamentally understand the 2013 school closings in Bronzeville without knowing the history of the community. By studying how social systems have arisen over time, we can see not only how things are now, but how they could be otherwise. The present is not inevitable; things have come to be as we know them through human actors. If we understand the genesis of our present, we have a chance of changing the future" (p. 57).

Ewing made it clear that the purpose of history in an ethnographic context is to actualize liberation and agency by framing the present as "not inevitable." This research illustrates the power of histories of the present within the fight to end oppression: the suppression and invisibilizing of history is in and of itself a present-moment tool of oppression. By making the history of Brozeville visible, Ewing offered a tool of liberation to other communities facing similar challenges.

2.) "Critical historians are self-reflexive; they recognize they are physically, epistemologically, ethically, and politically implicated in their object of study" (p. 9).

With this thesis, Kleinberg et al. (2018) emphasized the unconscious commitments researchers hold and the need for reflexive practices that bring a critical lens to the researcher's ideology and positionality. This thesis speaks to commitments that are similarly centered in critical ethnography. Researchers are themselves instruments (Given, 2008), and thus subjectivity and positionality are profoundly implicated in inquiry (Foley, 2002). In the context of critical historians, Kleinberg et al. (2018) asserted that *answerability* requires a commitment to social justice, disruption of

the status quo, and deep humility; researchers must be *answerable to* the lives, cultures and possible futures affected by the inquiry. As previously discussed, reflexivity also implies an ontological recognition of the socially-constructed and culturally mediated nature of reality. Self-reflexive critical historians also recognize their place in this intersubjective reality and acknowledge the complexity of their positionality.

Many historians who take up critical projects nonetheless continue to write in the third person and to bracket their personal lived experiences within the narrative (e.g., Kliebard, 2004; Watkins, 2001). It is difficult to find examples of literal self-reflexivity, as in acknowledgements and reflections on positionality, within historical writing. Interdisciplinary research and especially histories that forward critical race theory sometimes feature self-reflexivity. In her historically-informed book, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism,* bell hooks (2015) detailed her physical, epistemological, ethical and political positionality. Her self-reflexivity related the history of Black women in slavery to contemporary feminist struggles concerning intersectionality. She wrote, "My life experience had shown me that the two issues (race and gender) were inseparable, that at the moment of my birth, two factors determined my destiny, my having been born black and my having been born female" (p. 12). Throughout the book, she self-reflexively dialogued with the history of sexual violence under slavery and refused to engage this history in the traditional, impersonal tone of historical writing. hooks leveraged an ethic of self-reflexivity as well as the commitment to honor lived experiences as reliable sources of truth (hooks, 2014). As she related the content and meaning of history to her own lived experience, she modeled an approach to critical history that makes explicit the historian's political objectives and intersubjectivity.

Critical ethnography has gone much further in prioritizing self-reflexivity as a method and as a major stylistic feature of ethnographic writing. However, the ideal of reflexivity raises many methodological challenges. Critical ethnographers strive to take on the role of *participant*-observers (Casagno, 2012). Yet they sometimes take for granted the historical situatedness of the power dynamics inherent in the researcher-researched relationship. Jordan and Yeomans (1995) made a compelling case that critical ethnography cannot fully separate itself from its historical antecedents located in the colonial projects of anthropology. Thus, "the participant-observer-observed relationship can, in certain contexts, materialize as a technology of power, inscribed with messages of domination" (p. 393). Self-reflexivity and awareness of researcher positionality within the political agenda of the project can never completely unwind the power dynamics involved in research (Chadderton, 2012; Daza, 2008; Dennis, 2009; Hill, 2006). At the end of the day, whether a researcher is an insider or outsider relative to the community, the published research is tied to the so-called "academy" with all of its class-race-language power dynamics in a capitalist, hegemonic society. Many critical ethnographers grapple with this tension through self-reflexivity.

For example, Barbour (2010) described observing teachers using practices and behaviors that were damaging to students during his ethnographic fieldwork. He wondered if he should intervene and if so, what action should be taken. Yet he also worried about losing access as an ethnographer if he provided feedback or otherwise called-out the harmful practices. Barbour used self-reflexivity to recognize the "double bind" he was placed in: on the one hand, he had to earn the trust of interlocuters in order to get good material for his ethnography; on the other hand, he made a commitment to

social justice and therefore, should prioritize ethical action. Barbour ultimately chose to stay silent, but committed to practicing confessional self-reflexivity (Foley, 2002) by writing about his ethical dilemmas and the harm that he caused, both to himself by betraying his sense of ethics, and to the community who could have benefited from his actions despite the risks. Barbour practiced self-reflexivity and shared this experience through publication to illustrate this dangerous trap.

Because critical ethnographers are in a living, present-moment relationship with human beings involved in the research, they constantly receive feedback about their own positionality and representation. Reflexion is less urgent in critical historical research, where living actors are usually absent unless oral histories are involved. However, reflexion is also a hermeneutic practice (Gallagher, 1992), which creates the process-oriented disposition of continuous reflexion, the creation of a conversation between texts and researcher. How historians make sense of and represent non-human sources is deeply rooted in positionality, sociocultural contexts, and their own construction of reality from the milieu of social influences they directly and indirectly experience. Self-reflexivity in critical historical research can be developed through critical ethnographic uses of the hermeneutic relationship between researcher and researched. Historians can examine the technologies of power they are proliferating not only through their representations of histories, but also their choice of materials and their interpretations, interconnections, and inferences. The self-reflexive historian could disrupt the neutral, third-person voice by more explicitly integrating intrapersonal subjectivity through resonant memories, embodied experiences, personal reflections and narratives from the archival researching experience.

3.) "*Critical history seeks to intervene in public debates and political struggles*" (p. 10).

The purpose of critical history, like critical ethnography, is to explicitly center political goals in research. With this thesis, the Wild on Collective rejected the notion of "expertise" and its tendency to uphold and collaborate with existing, hegemonic power structures. When critical history engages political struggles, it should do so in order to "create openings for other possible worlds" (p. 10). Critical histories in education, such as Watkins' (2001) *The White Architects of Black Education* intervene in political struggles by revealing hidden or lost injustices of the past that have relevance to and resonance with current struggles. With the exception of some public historians (e.g., Brooks, 2017), they rarely take an active role as participant-researchers by directly inserting their history into an immediate political struggle.

However, a recent, interdisciplinary example from public scholarship of this kind of critical history can be found in a limited podcast series by educator-journalists Mark Winston Griffith and Max Freedman (2019) called, *School Colors*. This series revealed the hidden history of the battle for local control of schools within Bedford Stuyvesant, a neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. Drawing from oral histories and primary documents, Griffith and Freedman unfolded the decades of struggle of the Black and Puerto Rican residents who fought to maintain culturally sustaining pedagogies through community control over their schools. By revealing this history, the authors pursued direct intervention in the ongoing struggle to keep Bedford-Stuyvesant schools open under the immense pressures of gentrification. They described their mission:

> Two of the most controversial forces in urban American life -- charter schools and gentrification -- have converged on Bed-Stuy's Community School District 16,

> draining the schools of children and funding. But as new families, mostly white and middle-class, opt into local schools, tension is surfacing between two seemingly progressive ideals: integration and self-determination. What does this mean for the future of this historically Black neighborhood and others like it across the country? To understand where we're going we have to understand how we got here." (p. 1)

Echoing Ewing's (2018) historical research on the Bronzeville neighborhood of Chicago, Griffith and Freedman (2019) worked to center the history of Bedford Stuyvesant in the political struggle to prevent the closure of historically Black schools. Unlike Ewing's historical work, however, *School Colors* was produced specifically as material to be leveraged within the local debate. Ewing's longing that district officials would acknowledge community history was actualized through Griffith and Freedman's historical research, which triggered numerous public discussions across the district and deepened the engagement of living participants. By recovering, narrativizing, and publicly sharing this history, Griffith and Freedman (2019) exemplified the role of critical histories within political activism.

In the critical ethnographic approach, research not only intervenes in political struggle by producing empowering knowledge, it positions the literal act of *researching* as part of the intervention. Lather (1986a) described this as research-as-praxis, which is first and foremost grounded in reciprocity. In this sense, the concept of reciprocity represents not only a mutually beneficial exchange, but also a way of intervening in political struggle by advantaging participants in some specific way. Drawn from the work of indigenous epistemologies, reciprocity in research means, "We take so that we can

give and provide for others—in order to survive and thrive" (Brayboy et al., 2012, p. 439). Robin Wall Kimmerer (2017), a botanist and member of the Potawatomi Nation, writes and speaks often about the ethical significance of reciprocity. She defined reciprocity as, "The moral covenant (that) calls us to honor our responsibility for all we have been given, for all we have taken" (p. 384). In this sense, reciprocity represents an ethical commitment to the community that decenters the researcher's personal agenda.

Lather (1986a) argued that researchers should enact reciprocity by, "consciously (using) our research to help participants understand and change their situations" (p. 263). According to Lather, such an approach in critical ethnography requires research participants to be involved in meaning making and the provision of data, and ideally, also in analysis and representation. This profound participant involvement in research disrupts the traditional objectification of subjects as Others, but also introduces many practical challenges. By Lather's own admission, the involvement of research participants in every aspect of the research process, including theory building, is "largely an attractive aspiration" (p. 265). Despite their idealism, Lather's directives have been taken seriously by critical ethnographers.

But these attempts at a truly collaborative process have surfaced many dilemmas. Anders and Diem (2018) explored the tensions and contradictions inherent in positioning research participants as research collaborators in two separate studies. Hoping to subvert the colonial history of ethnography, the researchers in each of their studies strove to enact "relational ethics" by "sharing research materials, coding, analyses, and representations" (p. 2297) collaboratively with participants. Their hope was to disrupt power dynamics and actualize research-as-praxis, but they discovered that involving participants in the

analytical process was a challenge. Anders found that member checks were flat affairs in which participants politely agreed, rather than engaged in deep analysis despite prompting. Anders acknowledged her own desire for this process to affirm her decolonizing, critical stance, but ultimately failed to truly engage collaboration. Diem, on the other hand, was informed by a research participant that he was not actually enacting collaboration because he was asking the wrong questions. Diem's assumptions about education foreclosed opportunities to describe lived experiences outside of his narrow questions. Though he felt fortunate his research participant called him out on this, he recognized that his assumptions about the collaborative design of his study were ill-informed. Both researchers, who had hoped to enact decolonizing methodologies through participant collaboration, discovered that they had missed opportunities to actualize this ideal.

Reyes Cruz (2008) also explored decolonizing methodology in her piece, "What if I just Cite Graciela?" An amorphous phrase, "decolonizing methodology" is often used to refer to an approach that exposes colonial projects in research and often recenters indigenous methods and pedagogies (Smith, 2012). Reyes Cruz's project, a study of Latin American children's damaging educational experiences in a U.S. school district, prompted her to wonder if decolonization of praxis was possible. Feeling under pressure to cite certain established authors in order to attain recognition in the academy, she asked, "What if I just cite (my research participant) Graciela?" (p. 651). The researcher's desire was to move Graciela out of the role of participant and into the role of intellectual authority. Yet Reyes Cruz felt trapped because she was fundamentally beholden to the power structures of academia which sanction only certain forms of established

knowledge. Part of her disruptive social action was to publish the ethnography so it could be used to justify liberatory policy, but to do this she could not form an intellectual foundation for theory building from the wisdom expressed by her participants, at least in terms of citational practices, and thus actually decolonize her praxis.

Fundamentally, praxis itself is theory-as-action and research-as-praxis is an ethical commitment to enact and embody theory through research. For example, Chadderton (2012) discovered she was perpetuating white supremacy through her approach to interviewing secondary students. In response, she dug into the foundational critical race and post-structuralist theory that inspired her study. There she found the guidance she needed to decenter the assumption that spaces are not raced and moved toward the enactment of the theory that race always plays a role in social interaction. This insight prompted Chadderton to adjust her interviewing strategy and to produce a more collaborative and liberatory process for the students. In this way, research-as-praxis becomes political intervention because researchers use theory to guide ethical action. The commitment to intervene politically through historical research combined with critical ethnography's commitment to enact research-as-praxis catalyzes the potential for social justice through research.

Ethnography problematizes the critical historical commitment to generate knowledge through self-reflexivity and for the purpose of intervention in political struggle. The critical historian may practice self-reflexivity, but fail to incorporate insights gained from that work to course-correct in the midst of the research process, as Chadderton (2012) did. Likewise, intervention in political struggle can advance exploitation rather than disrupt it by way of the hidden colonial projects inherent in

research. Kleinberg et al. (2018) warn of the "guild mentality" in historical scholarship wherein historians write for other historians for the purpose of gaining membership. Critical historians face a great challenge to disrupt their assumed role as "expert" and engage communities more deeply and authentically as the owners and assemblers of their own histories. The ways in which historians can enact an ethic of research-as-praxis, from taking on a participant-observer role to ultimately actualizing a commitment to reciprocity by empowering the communities most deeply tied to specific histories, remain largely unexplored. Finally, critical historical narratives can reflect the ontological and epistemological commitments of the critical paradigm by pivoting stylistically in the direction of critical ethnography: confessional and theoretical self-reflexivity can be interwoven throughout historical writing; and technologies of power, such as citational practices, can be disrupted by anticolonial practices as Reyes Cruz (2008) longed to do.

I have found myself on actionable, ethical ground by working with the reciprocity between critical approaches to historical research and ethnography: true histories of the present are fundamentally ethnographic in their goal to illuminate present-moment-struggles against oppression. Because the history of eugenics in gifted education is often a hidden history, its excavation in and of itself enlightens the present. Though actionable, actually enacting the commitments of the critical approach have been fraught with tension throughout my research process. My own positionality was often caught up in these tensions. I worked to be a collaborative participant, but I was also keenly aware of my vested interest in telling the stories of my participants and of making explicit connections between qualitative themes in the present and historical ideologies unearthed through my archival research. While I was able to engage my participants to some extent

in my analysis (i.e., through member checks, and occasional one-on-one meetings), I tried hard not to take up space during their meetings with my own research needs. Sometimes I may have been too silent, too much a fly-on-the-wall, and at other times, I may have needed to listen more and speak less. Enacting the ideals of the critical paradigm leads to an aspirational journey; one that necessarily and inevitably is flawed. The whole point of an ideal is to provoke an endless pursuit of perfection in an imperfect world. The point is to never stop trying.

Dialogical and Reciprocal Methods: Digging into the Details

In this section, I have outlined the methods I used in this study, with some additional commentary on the reciprocity shared between critical historical and ethnographer research. I have elaborated on the data collection and analysis methods I briefly outlined in Chapter 1, and have provided a more in-depth description of the ethnographic context and key participants with whom I worked to produce this dissertation. I have also provided a detailed section regarding the theoretical lenses I used in my analysis process, as well as a description of how I knit these various elements together to form a more coherent ethnographic and historical narrative.

Research Setting and Participants

In 2019, I connected with a Ph.D. graduate from my program, who worked for GPS. She introduced me to Thomas, the Director of Curriculum for GPS, and they both asked me to do some work with their teachers around my research into the history of the field of gifted education. I quickly became interested in the work GPS was undertaking. Thomas, together with other district- and teacher-leaders, had decided to put forward a racial equity transformation initiative with the goal of uprooting systemic racism from

their school system. Unlike many similar initiatives I had witnessed, GPS put teachers at the helm. “Design teams” of school-based educators were organized to lead racial equity inquiry and program reform in every area of the school system: math, language arts, social studies, science, multilingual/language education, and, of course, GT. These teams met weekly or biweekly and worked on specific tasks to tackle the mission to which they’d been assigned. They often created presentations or facilitated discussions with other groups, including larger groups of educators who came together as “consulting groups” to offer feedback and raise questions as each design team worked through their process of inquiry and action planning. The entire racial equity transformation initiative was framed as a three phase process, which included:

1. Looking Inward: Design teams were asked to examine their own beliefs and practices in relation to their field of inquiry (e.g., math, language, GT, etc.). They were encouraged to practice courageous conversations (Singleton, 2014) as they discussed issues of racial injustice within their own lived experiences of their fields, to interrogate racially-conscious data (i.e., participation demographics, achievement, discipline, etc.), and to develop their personal rationale for change.
2. Looking Around: In this phase, the teams were encouraged to begin researching the causes and conditions of systemic racism and inequity in their fields of inquiry. Teams sought out resources to support a more thorough understanding of the factors that had created and sustained racial inequities in their area, as well as exemplars of transformative educational programs and institutions on which they could eventually base a plan of action.

3. Looking Outward: This final phase required a synthesis of the inquiry that had been completed during the previous two phases. Design Teams created statements of belief and action plans for adopting curriculum, engaging students, and implementing professional development. In this final phase, the Design Teams led the work of beginning to put these action plans in place district-wide.

These three phases were loosely organized around a multiyear process, which varied by team depending on a number of factors, including how long it took them simply to accomplish the tasks in each phase, as well as when, where and how the teams were organized. However, by the winter of 2021, the district-wide racial equity action plan coalesced, which would detrack the exclusive GT programs in grades K-12 and created requirements for all students to participate in a minimum of advanced academic programs. This plan was rolled out to the whole community in the spring of 2021.

The GT Design Team was my home-base for this research and I journeyed with them through the ups and downs of the difficult work of confronting systemic racism in their longstanding GT and advanced academics programs. The team consisted of five members, including Thomas (who was essentially a member of every Design Team). Each member of the GPS Design Teams had to apply for the position and as such, each individual on the GT team had unique reasons for wanting to join. Their experiences as educators informed their concerns with racism in GT, but Thomas was very intentional to incorporate a range of perspectives on the team by including educators who currently or had in the past worked with GT in the district, as well as those who had long found GT to be problematic. Over the course of my ethnographic fieldwork, I witnessed their

perspectives and beliefs about giftedness and GT evolve. In the following I have provided a brief description of each of these exceptional individuals, using the pseudonyms I created for them.

Mary

Mary is a white woman and longtime educator with a background in GT. After taking a leave from classroom teaching to raise her four young children, Mary decided to take a part-time GT teaching position at a private school, which led her to study gifted education at a local college. Later, Mary returned to Greenfield Public Schools to take on a full-time GT teaching position, which she maintained for several years. During the time of the study, Mary had stepped away from teaching GT, and was serving in a school-based leadership role. Over the course of her tenure in GPS, Mary observed many changes to the GT program, including revisions to identification protocols and innovations in teaching strategies and curriculum, but one thing remained the same: the students who participated in GT programs were almost always overwhelmingly white, a reality that spurred Mary to reconsider the role of GT in a diverse school district. Mary had worked hard to develop her antiracist practices and grew into a leader and role model for many of her colleagues, who regularly reached out to her for coaching and advice. Together with Sarah, she taught antiracist programs for adults in the local community and continuously modeled humility, vulnerability, and restorative practices.

Sarah

Sarah is a white woman and second grade teacher in GPS. Sarah, whose mother was a teacher, initially trained as a school social worker, but decided to go into teaching because she felt she could have more impact through direct service to students, rather

than the constant “hoop jumping” she described as a big part of social work. Like Mary, Sarah had developed into a devoted antiracist educator. After attending an intensive summer training program in antiracist education, Sarah had started a not-for-profit with a colleague from GPS to provide community education in antiracism. Sarah described her journey toward antiracist teaching as a process of deepening and integrating her racial consciousness fully into her life; a process that began with a white savior orientation, and progressed to critical advocacy. Sarah, in partnership with Mary, was among one of the first teachers in her school to work diligently at co-teaching and differentiation in order to end the old GT pull-out model, which she viewed as a harmful and racializing program due to its highly visible, racially segregating effects. Some of Sarah’s colleagues described her as a person who had once been extremely shy, but who had grown into a strong and confident leader.

Gale

Gale identifies as a Black woman and serves as an equity coach in GPS. Gale began teaching in the 90s and worked for a Black principal who was devoted to mentoring talented teachers of color. In a district that hired predominantly white teachers, Gale’s first teaching experience gave her a professional community of color and mentors that developed her into an exceptional teacher. She went on to teach various grade levels in several different schools before leaving the classroom to work as an instructional coach, and ultimately, to become an equity coach in GPS. In her coaching role, Gale’s job was to get teachers to interrogate their beliefs and look at their unconscious biases. Every day, she coached predominantly white teachers in this capacity. She described that, “It’s a really hard job. It’s a lot of heavy belief work” (Interview, March 29, 2021).

Gale's understanding of GT was very much informed by her work not only as a teacher and a mother, but also as a former GT student herself. As the only Black girl in her GT program as a child, Gale had a unique perspective on the racial equity issues inherent in gifted education. In many ways, Gale was the spiritual heart of the team and its true racial equity leader. I never left a meeting where Gale was present without having learned something truly profound about human beings, society, racism, or myself.

Max

Max is a white man and a well-respected, veteran high school teacher in GPS. Although he spent the majority of his career teaching the sciences, for several years, Max had served as the high school GT counselor, a job which he described by explaining, "the elimination of this position is a must." He was originally drawn to the position because all of his own children were identified as GT and because of his experiences teaching AP courses, both of which showed him that there is an academic ceiling in public school which can hold students back from achieving their potential. In his capacity as GT counselor, Max provided one-on-one and small group services mainly to students identified as GT. He provided support around stress management and handling anxiety, as well as guidance with college planning and the application process. One of Max's goals for the GT Design Team was to design himself out of a job. He described, "I feel no remorse about the elimination of this position as I'm doing college applications for all white kids." Although Max, with characteristically wry humor and humility, insisted he was not really an antiracist (just a person *trying to become* an antiracist leader), Max continuously stuck his neck out —sometimes in very public forums— to advocate for

antiracist practices and the democratization of gifted services and advanced academics so that all students could have access to the resources he provided.

Thomas

Thomas is the Director of Curriculum for GPS, a position he had held for three years during the time of my study. Thomas identifies as Arab-American, but usually reads as a white man, a situation that has complicated his lived experience with race and racialization. He described that he grew up feeling like an "other," but he was, "seen as a conscious white man" (Interview, February 7, 2021). When Thomas started doing racial equity work as a high school teacher and later, as a principal and district administrator, he was often told, "You need to be a model for other white people and especially for other white men… You need to be white if you're going to do this work around race." Thomas wasn't willing to sacrifice his identity as an Arab-American, but he also felt a huge responsibility as an anti-racist leader to model this work for white people. Thomas progressed from assistant principal, to principal, and finally to district administrator in a variety of school districts, always centering his antiracist practices and beliefs in everything he did. Thomas was usually recruited into these positions by other leaders who admired his work, but it wasn't until Thomas came to Greenfield that he finally felt like he'd arrive at his professional home and was able to fully inhabit his multiracial identity rather than play the role of the conscious white man. Thomas showed up at almost every GT Design Meeting where he honestly and vulnerably shared his thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about GT, antiracism and the path toward racial healing and equity. Thomas also brought to this small, suburban district extraordinary antiracist scholars, such as Gloria Ladson Billings and Yvette Jackson, who provided professional

development to GPS educators. Having worked exclusively in enormous, urban school districts, I was truly amazed by his ability to make these connections and provide these opportunities to his teachers.

Data Collection Methods

As described, I collected data for this study using both historical and ethnographic methods in a reciprocal manner. My ethnographic data consisted of dozens of fieldnotes and analytical memos collected over the course of one year with Greenfield Public Schools, as well as in-depth interviews and artifacts. My historical research began prior to my ethnographic fieldwork, starting in 2019 with a historical study of the eugenic ideologies of Lewis Terman. I made a trip to Stanford University and spent several days documenting primary sources from the Lewis Madison Terman papers. I sampled this vast collection by identifying eugenicists and eugenic organizations in the finding aid provided by the university. I took over 300 photographs of individual documents, which I later coded and analyzed. When I began my research in Greenfield Public Schools, I returned to my collection of sampled documents to conduct further analyses to better relate the qualitative themes to historical themes. The ethnographic data also prompted me to expand my historical research into primary documents written by other key historical figures, including Francis Galton, Leta Hollingworth, and John Dewey.

The ethnographic data collection often raised questions that I examined through primary sources, and visa-versa. For example, in order to better understand themes related to conceptualizations of giftedness, I read and analyzed some of Francis Galton's (1865, 1873, 1883, 1869/1922) foundational work, which has been cited as significant in gifted education contexts (Jolly, 2018; VanTassel-Baska, 2013). I also used my findings

from Galton's work to pose questions to my participants regarding their beliefs about giftedness. In order to better understand the experience of people of color who were tokenized in gifted education programs, I sought answers in Leta Hollingworth's (1937, 1938, 1939) reports on the Speyer School, one of the first self-contained programs for gifted education. My sampling and analyses were often spurred by this process: the historical record prompted me to investigate the potential for historical continuities with my GPS participants, and ethnographic themes prompted specific historical research.

Primary and Secondary Sources

Traditional approaches to historical research apply a process of primary and secondary source selection to build a foundation of evidence in support of historical narratives (McCullagh, 2000); historians mine sources to establish context and theories of causation, continuity and change over time, as well as periodization or a thematic organization related to time (Rampolla, 2015). Critical historians actualize their epistemological and ontological commitments through source selection and interpretation, including the aforementioned activities, but with an emphasis on an ontology that recognizes social constructivism and intersubjectivity. For example, through the lens of affirmative presentism, the critical approach to history recognizes a multiplicity of voices and experiences present in the historical archive and seeks sources that decenter dominant points of view (Villaverde et al., 2006). Furthermore, source selection must also advance the critical mission to "transform all circumstances that enslave human beings" (Bohman, 2005, p. 3) by exposing oppressive forces. A commitment to this approach was centered in both my historical source selection and my ethnographic data collection, which are detailed below.

Primary Sources. Primary sources in this study were drawn from archival and published sources, including: The Lewis Madison Terman Papers at Stanford University; the Leta Stetter and Harry L. Hollingworth Papers at the Archive of the History of American Psychology in Akron, Ohio. I used the finding aids to sample both of these collections. I sampled the Terman collection based on his communications with known eugenicists and eugenic organization. I sampled the Hollingworth collection based on her writings related to the Speyer School and other special gifted education programs she started and researched. To a lesser extent, I sampled the digitized materials available in the Galton Papers within the Wellcome Collection based on sources that were cited in historiography (see Chapter 2) and other primary sources (e.g., Blacker, 1952a, 1952b). Additionally, Hollingworth, Terman, Galton, and their colleagues published proliferatively on topics related to this study. Papers, books, and other publicly available and/or digitized material were sourced through university library systems and included in the dataset.

Secondary Sources. Critical historiography related to the American Eugenics Movement, the evolution of mental testing, and the history of gifted education were used to provide additional source material for developing foundational contexts. In particular, I am indebted to the recent writings of James Porter (2017a, 2017b, 2018), who has done extensive research on discourses within gifted education during the Civil Rights Era. I also drew considerably from the work of Diane Paul (1988, 1995, 2016), Clare Hanson (2013), R. Scott Baker (2001), and Alexandra Minna Stern (2005), as well as many other critical historians.

Ethnographic Fieldwork. In critical ethnography, fieldwork is the primary method for data collection and consists of an immersion into the community as a participant (Madison, 2020); data are collected in fieldwork through a variety of forms of fieldnotes, including jottings, memos, and detailed accounts (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Fieldnotes constitute a range of data, from "initial impressions" (p. 24) jotted down quickly while in the field, to an attempt to "mirror observed reality" (p. 45) by writing detailed notes at one's desk after a day spent with the community. I collected extensive fieldnotes in all of these forms during my year with Greenfield educators.

Interviews. Madison (2020) explained that oral histories collected within the context of critical ethnography stress the phenomenology of memory over the materiality of "historical fact," which is a way of subverting positivistic notions of an objective view of history. The oral historian Antoinette Errante (2000) echoed Madison's description of oral history performance as an exercise in remembering, as well as an interactive identity-constructing experience between the historian and the interviewee. The term "performance" relates to the metaphysics of time implicit in this intersubjective understanding of oral history, as well as the ways in which histories are shared for specific reasons and constructed in specific ways for a given audience. I conducted ethnographic interviews with participants in Greenfield and included questions to evoke oral histories related to the district's journey with gifted education. I invited my participants to share both their ideas about giftedness and how gifted education had changed over time, as well as memories and lived experiences with gifted education beyond the immediate context of Greenfield. This approach helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences that informed my participants' perceptions, as well as

the necessary data to construct a more recent record of history concerning the ups and downs of gifted education in Greenfield Public Schools.

Post-reflexions. As described in Chapter 1, post-reflexion (Vagle, 2018) is a method to capture the researcher's own subjective experiences, sense of positionality, perspectives, and embodiments as part of the data. Post-reflexions are captured periodically throughout a study and especially within proximity to an act of data collection, such as after an interview or observation, and often consist of journaling, memoing, and/or audio or video recordings. I used post-reflexions in the form of journal entries throughout the data collection and analysis process to maintain my commitment to reflexivity, and I included those reflexions in my data analysis.

Artifacts. Despite the virtual nature of this study under the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic, there were many meaningful artifacts available to me for collection and analysis in Greenfield. These included text from the public-facing GPS website; PowerPoint files designed by research participants and used to communicate in Greenfield; emails; and videos of presentations. I have explained more about the significance of artifacts in terms of my theoretical frameworks under the section "Representation."

Data Analysis

Documents (i.e., primary and secondary sources), transcripts from interviews, artifacts, fieldnotes, and post-reflexions were all coded using the ethnographic analytical process described by Emerson et al. (2011):

1. Open coding. The process of inductively identifying a multiplicity of codes and themes to begin uncovering conceptual significance.

2. Analytical memoing. Used iteratively with open coding, this process includes a second layer of analysis which begins to identify core processes and form meanings across contexts.
3. Theme selection. Coded research materials, as well as analytical memos are used to choose core themes for further exploration and analysis. Such themes should indicate potential for connectivity to other themes in order to support eventual theory construction.
4. Focus coding. Core themes are both revised and applied to the original data set. Through this process, subthemes can also be identified.
5. Integrative memoing. This step is used iteratively throughout focused coding in order to elaborate on and clarify core themes.
6. Generating theory. Theory may be articulated as an extension, elaboration, or confirmation of a priori theoretical frameworks. Alternatively, more original theory may be articulated as a result of the analytical process.

This general process of analysis has been applied across all materials in order to produce the iterative and recursive engagement between ethnographic and historical inquiry that I have described as a goal of this study. However, several additional steps were used in the analysis process, especially regarding the analysis of documents.

Document Analysis

I used ethnographic document analysis (EDA) (Altheide, et al., 2008) to code my primary and secondary source documents. EDA describes a process of qualitatively coding documents conceptually by forging theoretical relationships through the communication of meanings expressed within documents; centering a reflexive approach

to analysis through an iterative process of "movement between concept development, sampling, data collecting, data coding, data analysis, and interpretation" (Altheide, et al., 2008, p. 128); as well as an immersion into the documents, which are regarded as a community (Coyle in Altheide et al., 2008). I also included ethical measures that engaged my participants in the analysis process. My analysis included steps 1 through 6 described above, with these additional steps:

7. Further theme refinement through exploration of relevant connected primary and secondary sources.
8. The application of critical theoretical framework(s) to the coding process (McCullough, 2004).
9. Member checks with my GPS participants to establish truthfulness in representation and accuracy of analyses, and to ensure my research process produced direct benefits to the community through the sharing of resources (Lather, 1986).

Step 7 describes the process of using additional sources in combination with theme refinement to elaborate through multiple perspectives (Villaverde et al., 2006). For example, in my analysis of primary documents from the Lewis Madison Terman collection, many eugenics organizations are mentioned explicitly or appear in the artifacts as letterhead or in return addresses. Additional secondary sources were located to further inform the analysis as part of step 7. Step 8 suggests that the analysis should be informed by critical theoretical frameworks in order to position the critical mission to expose and end oppressions throughout the analytical process (the specific theoretical frameworks I used are described in the next section).

Step 9 ensured that the critical ethnographic method known as member checking was centered in the analysis process. Member checking (Lather, 1986b) represents a significant return to the community after these more distanced processes of analysis that allow the researcher to "open communication further, deepen details, complicate understandings, and ask more questions" (Anders & Diem, 2018, p. 2301) directly with participants. While I was able to complete this step with each of my key participants, member-checking can be difficult to do because it requires additional time from research participants. My participants' time was unbelievably burdened by the work they were obligated to complete under the pandemic conditions. I completed several member checks with each key participant, and would have benefited from a great deal more time to do member checking and collaborative analysis. However, in the balance of give-and-take as a critical researcher, I was also weary of asking too much; this is another ethical complexity of this type of research. Nonetheless, the one-on-one member-checking I was able to do, and the use of themes my participants themselves identified and analyzed using critical race theory as part of their own work, gives me confidence in the truthfulness and validity of my analysis and representation of qualitative themes.

Data Validity. Across the critical paradigm, data analysis is strongly influenced by conceptualizations and practices related to validity and truth in interpretation. Lather (1986b) built a foundation for reconceptualizing validity through the reflexive and critical turns in her seminal piece, "Issues of Validity in Openly Ideological Research: Between a Rock and a Soft Place." She emphasized that data trustworthiness is significant in critical research and more positivistic practices such as triangulation must be broadened to include theoretical schemas and data sources drawn from a variety of genres. Lather

suggested that validity is essential for emancipatory praxis. For example, she asserted that researchers should accentuate face validity as established through member checks to ensure direct benefits to the community. However, it is her conception of catalytic validity that I centered in my analysis, which Lather defined by way of the Freirean term "conscientization" or "knowing reality in order to better transform it" (p. 67). In short, catalytic validity is established when research participants benefit from the study through increased self- and community-knowledge and a stronger sense of self-determination and agency.

In my member-checks, I was able to make refinements to my analysis that better reflected the lived experiences, beliefs and perspectives of my participants. In particular, I was able to confirm some of the more difficult themes I wrote about, including beliefs that I tied to eugenic ideologies, such as the belief that ability is innate or born. I also perceived that for some of my research participants, learning about the history of eugenics in gifted education was eye-opening and allowed them to unfold these beliefs for a more thorough examination. This catalytic validity was evidenced when the GT Design Team took ownership of this history, melded it with their own personal histories, and discussed it at their public events and school presentations. Because the members of the GT Design Team were dedicated to antiracist work, they leaned into the discomfort of some of these analyses, confirming past beliefs they'd held, current dilemmas they experienced, and old, dysconscious ways of thinking that they had transformed.

Analytical Lenses

The application of theory has helped me to enhance communication between themes drawn from the present and ideological themes from the past; present themes and

past historical narratives can "talk to each other" through theory. In Chapter 4, I relied on Foucault's (1980, 1990, 1995, 2004) various theories related to disciplinary power to provoke this dialogue and connectivity between past and present. In Chapter 5, I turned to scholars of Critical Race Theory and specifically leveraged theories of the Permanence of Racism (Bell, 1991, 1993), Interest Convergence (Bell, 1980), and Whiteness as Property (Harris, 1993). In Chapter 6, I used the theoretical lens of new racism, also described as colorblind racism, derived from Bonilla-Silva (2014) to discuss changing discourses in gifted education after World War II. Overarching all of these chapters, I applied the theoretical framework of Figured Worlds (Holland et al., 1998). I have provided an overview of each of these theories in the following, which are further elaborated within Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Figured Worlds. In their seminal book, *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds,* Holland et al. (1998) outlined the framework of a versatile sociocultural theory linking intersubjective conceptualizations of identity construction within specific sociocultural contexts. These contexts they referred to as "figured worlds": co-constructed realities built by individuals who collectively "figure" who they are through their shared understanding of the "worlds" they inhabit. Agentic individuals are constantly negotiating and improvising meanings within the boundaries of their figured worlds through interactional work. Beginning with theories of self and identity formation grounded in the tradition of G. H. Mead (1934, as cited in Holland et al., 1998), the authors argued that individuals construct their identities by using cultural resources to both serve their own needs and to negotiate their positioning within a community. Yet individuals do not do this work in isolation: the community as a whole interactionally co-

constructs new meanings, new understandings, new symbology, new activities, new subject positionings, new ways of being—in short, new worlds.

Further, the authors stress that figured worlds theory is concerned with durability. While short-lived figured worlds may occur all the time (i.e., the authors drew from the work of Vygotsky [1978] to exemplify children's imaginary playtime as examples of figured worlds), certain figured worlds are culturally reproduced throughout time and space. Sociohistorical conceptualizations of identity and community are thus central to figured worlds via an ontological orientation toward time. For example, figured worlds can be thought of as being historically perpetuated by communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991, as cited in Holland et al., 1998) in which longstanding members indoctrinate newcomers into the shared beliefs, understandings, rituals, daily activities, and other practices that construct their mutual sense of reality within the world they inhabit and co-create. This process of the reproduction of figured worlds is carried forward throughout time: newcomers become the veterans and pass on these same cultural activities to enculturate new crops of neophytes, a process familiar to researchers of school culture and teacher education (e.g., Cherubini, 2009; Flores, 2004, 2007; Schuck, 2005).

Thus, communities of practice within figured worlds theory describe a sociohistorical process not unlike Kleinberg et al.'s (2018) definition of time within critical history as "uncanny returns" (p. 10). Figured worlds theory helps to frame the durable continuities within gifted education as shared understandings, beliefs, and activities that are socially reproduced over time and for certain purposes. Yet Holland et al. (1998) emphasized that figured worlds are always in the process of forming and

becoming through social interaction at both the individual-identity and collective sociocultural levels, and enabled through improvisation. They described a notion of "history-in-person" (p. 8), meaning the specific lived histories that individuals bring with them into figured worlds, as an important element of this sociohistorical conception of figured worlds. Furthermore, the authors linked agency to history by differentiating between a conception of history-in-person with traditional definitions for history. They wrote, "Only by moving between the institutional and the intimate, between history in its usual sense and history-in-person, can we do justice to social life" (p. 111). In other words, if we want to understand how social realities are co-constructed, we must recursively connect the dots between individual, local, immediate histories and the broader lens of institutional, big-picture histories.

In that sense, it is significant to this study that Holland et al. (1998) drew from Bordeaux's (1993, as cited in Holland et al., 1998) conceptualization of "fields" to discuss the dimensions of figured worlds. While educational researchers often conceptualize very specific figured worlds, such as the figured world of civic engagement within an elementary classroom (Mayes et al., 2016), the notion of "fields" broadens the scope. The authors described, "A field is 'structure-in-practice,' and as such is a world of relationships, of social positions defined only against one another" (p. 58). Fields link hierarchy and power relations (Foucault, 2000; described below) with figured worlds. For example, Bordeaux (1993, as cited in Holland et al., 1998) used the concept of fields to describe power relations within academia (e.g., tenured vs. non-tenured faculty) and the identities and shared understandings that are produced as a result. Holland et al.

extrapolate the idea of fields as "figured landscapes" that explicitly encompass privilege, status, power and the relative positioning occurring across large, institutional structures.

In this study, I have been interested in the negotiated meanings within the figured world of Greenfield Public Schools and its situatedness in the larger context of the figured landscape of gifted education. The research and recommendations produced by the field of gifted education represents a figured landscape with which the GPS design team interfaced as they grappled with complex issues of inequity produced by their GT and advanced academics programs. The figured landscape of the gifted education institution and its authorities (both historical and contemporary) perpetuate beliefs related to learning, learner identities, the purpose of school, and the nature of intelligence. The design team itself, and the wider district community, included multiple local figured worlds that interacted with the figured landscape of the gifted education institution. The discursive nature of the sociohistorical figured landscape of gifted education and the figured worlds of GPS represents a pivotal analytical lens in this study.

Foucauldian Theories of Power. Foucault's (1990, 1995, 2000, 2004) theories of normalization, disciplinary time, power relations, and power/knowledge illuminate the historical connectivity between present beliefs and past ideologies because they describe the ontological subjectivities that are internalized by contemporary actors and often taken for granted. Foucault's theories help to deepen and connect the ways in which our sense of reality and ways of being have been profoundly shaped by our sociocultural histories, although we often do not realize this.

As a historian, Foucault was interested in how expressions of power pivoted in the late 17th century from penalties to surveillance. Whereas for much of European history, power

was expressed through the sovereignty as public exhibitions of gruesome torture and other punishments, the 17th and 18th centuries brought on a gradual shift in the public's willingness to tolerate such displays of power. Thus, power had to exercise itself differently. According to Foucault's (1995) historical analysis, a new "economy of power" began to materialize in the late 17th century which fundamentally changed the nature and function of power in society, which he described in a variety of ways, including power relations, power/knowledge, disciplinary time, and normalization.

Power Relations. To Foucault (1980, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004), the contemporary manifestation of power is like a complex, diffuse, fluid, electrical network, passing through everyone and everything. He described power as having a "capillary form of existence… power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitude, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (1980, p. 39). We may think about power as being a resource (e.g., some people have a lot of it, others have less), but Foucault reframed the metaphysics of power as an omnipresent force that is produced by everyone and everything. Foucault (1990) wrote that power, "is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society" (p. 93). Human beings in all sorts of situations and positionings form and produce this "complex strategical situation" at each point of interaction. This idea was expressed through his term "power relations" (p. 30). Our relationships (and activities of interrelating) comprise a particular unit of analysis to better locate the ways in which power is flowing and shaping a figured world. Foucault characterized our relationships across human society as "nonegalitarian" and "mobile," giving the

impression that we are constantly producing and being produced by power, which keeps our subject-positioning in a state of flux.

In my analysis, this is an important construction of power *in situ*: we often feel that systems such as racist tracking in schools are beyond our individual ability to influence. However, according to the theory of power relations, it is the countless interactions that produce and maintain racist tracking systems, not some immutable structure beyond our reach. It is the subtle exchange of tone, meaning, glances, and body language that occur between individuals discussing whether or not a child of color could be "gifted." It is also the ways in which a white parent takes up space and is granted deference or authority in a schoolboard meeting where gifted education is being discussed. We, collectively, create the power superstructure of racist tracking through each and every one of our interactions with one another. Power relations represent those units of analysis that express this granularity of the network of power.

Power/Knowledge. Foucault's (1980) post-structuralist leanings are evident in his understanding of knowledge. He asserted that knowledges are created via an inseparable relationship with power, which is why Foucault and Foucauldian scholars represent this concept with a hyphen or a slash—as "power/knowledge." In particular, Foucault emphasized that knowledges that represent themselves as the truth are actually power-mediated constructions. In a positivist ontological framework, validated knowledges are assumed to be "pure" in the sense that they have rid themselves of the contamination of human subjectivity and bias. In a post-positivistic framework, such knowledges are said to be striving toward purity in the sense that they aspire to represent an objective reality. In a Foucauldian understanding, knowledge is both the subjective production of power

and a prime mechanism to produce power in a chicken-and-egg interrelatedness. He expressed the inseparable nature of power and knowledge clearly:

> Knowledge and power are integrated with one another, and there is no point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power… It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power. 'Liberate scientific research from the demands of monopoly capitalism': maybe it's a good slogan, but it will never be more than a slogan (p. 52).

Foucault (1990, 1995) provided myriad examples of the ways in which knowledge produces and is produced by power: via psychology, in which the therapist produces (and is produced by) greater knowledge of the self than the self itself; via religion, in which the confessor exercises power/knowledge through the confessional and thus knowledge of God and morality; via the examination at school, in which the test produces and is produced by knowledge to which the student must submit; through the panopticon (1995), in which power/knowledges are produced via surveillance. However, these examples do not represent concretized subject-positionings in which, for example, the priest dominates the sinner in a permanent position of power. Foucault wrote, "Relations of power-knowledge are not static forms of distribution, they are 'matrices of transformations.'" (1990, p. 99). The knowledges that distribute power change people internally and relationally. In this sense, we are all conduits for power/knowledge; we are both affected by and producers of its effects through its circulation.

Normalization and Disciplinary Time. As described in Chapter 2, normalization represents Foucault's (1995) description of "correct behavior" (p. 178) within his

framework for disciplinary power. The norm came to define the correct way of being and doing at a particular age, stage, place and time; in education, we can easily recognize normalization through our academic standards, which tell us what is a "normal" level of skill for children of a certain age and stage. Normalization seeks to organize the populations around such standards, and deviance from the norm is often punished. Disciplinary time concerns the policing and surveillance of normalization. Specifically, within education, Foucault described that disciplinary time,

> …was gradually imposed on pedagogical practice—specializing the time of training and detaching it from adult time, from the time of mastery; arranging different stages, separated from one another by graded examination; drawing up programmes [*sic*], each of which must take place during a particular stage and which involves exercises of increasing difficulty; qualifying individuals according to the way in which they progress through these series (p. 159).

Foucault's history helps to reveal that disciplinary time serves a social purpose: to control and order students and to use stages and examinations to rank and qualify them for different levels of status in society. In an analysis of gifted education, both normalization and disciplinary time are represented through quantifications of students' abilities, such as the results of I.Q. tests that were expressed as "mental ages." These theories are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

Critical Race Theory. While racism and racialization represent one of many oppressive factors produced by the legacy of eugenics in gifted education, Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a significant theoretical framework for this study because in the U.S., "race is the master category" (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. viii). CRT emphasizes the

relationship between power, racism, and racialization (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Solorzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) five tenets of CRT inform a theoretical framing of racism and racialization: the centering of race; the production of challenges to dominant perspectives; the commitment to social justice; the privileging of knowledge derived from lived experience; and the use of interdisciplinarity. CRT provides a useful theoretical framework through its commitment to examine the social construction of racial hegemony which functions to legitimize injustices that benefit a dominant group. A central theme in this study is the role of whiteness in gifted education and throughout its history. CRT generally defines whiteness as, "a system of domination that privileges people perceived to be white over people of color… an iterative process (that) is socially, historically, and culturally constructed in social structure, ideology, and individual actions" (Yoon, 2012, p. 589). CRT provides a theoretical framework for defining, focusing, and deconstructing the presence of whiteness in historical materials, ethnographic data, a range of artifacts, as well as my own positionality, intersubjective conditioning, and ties to whiteness. CRT also helps to analyze marginalization and racialization produced by and through gifted education in my research context. I have particularly relied on three specific theories from CRT, described below.

The Permanence of Racism. Derrick Bell (1991, 1993) described himself as a racial realist because he rejected the myth that the end of racism was inevitable and just around the corner. Instead, he believed that racism was a permanent feature of the United States. He wrote, "[T]he fact of slavery refuses to fade, along with the deeply embedded personal attitudes and public policy assumptions that supported it for so long" (p. 3). Bell stressed that whatever progress Black Americans were able to make through legal or

legislative measures was almost always and inevitably undone by the white power structure that continuously seeks to maintain white supremacy. This lens, both realistic and "unremittingly despairing" (Bell's publisher, as cited in Greenhouse, n.d., p.1) helped to explain the stark historical continuities between the effects that were intentionally built into gifted education by its eugenic founders and the present reality of unrelenting underrepresentation of Black Americans (and other people of color) in gifted education today. Bell's theory of the permanence of racism was constantly evoked through this research and functioned to help explain the phenomena of the many historical continuities between an openly racist ideology of the past and its coded, embedded, and dysconscious[8] (King, 1991) presence today, as well as its undeniable structural effects.

Interest Convergence. Bell (1980) defined interest convergence in his retrospective critique of the landmark case, *Brown vs. Board of Education*, which effectively rendered school segregation illegal, at least in theory. Bell described that people of color were granted rights *only* when those rights somehow converged to maintain the status of whites and/or to support some interest of whites. Specifically, he asserted that racial justice is only ever achieved when it "will secure, advance, or at least not harm societal interests deemed important by middle and upper class whites" (p. 523). In the case of *Brown v. Board*, Bell asserted that whites' interests converged with Blacks' interests to desegregate public schools insofar as it would raise the prestige of the U.S.'s image in foreign political and business affairs. Because *Brown* occurred during the Cold War Era when the U.S.'s policy of segregation was frowned upon by other nations,

[8] King (1991) defined "dysconscious racism" as, "the limited and distorted understandings… about inequity and cultural diversity-understandings that make it difficult… to act in favor of truly equitable education" (p. 134). I use this term periodically throughout this dissertation.

Brown gave powerful white stakeholders the impetus to improve the status and reputation of the U.S., and thus their own interests and investments in whiteness. In GPS, interest convergence was sometimes evoked by my participants as a tool, rather than an analytical lens. For example, my participants sometimes wondered how they could "use interest convergence" to identify how white interest converged with their antiracist work in order to gain support for the proposed changes to GT programming. In this dissertation, I have relied on the theory of interest convergence as a theoretical lens for describing how whiteness operates in antiracist projects, but I've also quoted my participants at times when they used it in a utilitarian way.

Whiteness as Property. In her analysis of legal history and case law, Harris (1993) traced definitions of property related to racial identity. She described legal definitions of property that include nonphysical forms: "[B]y popular usage property describes 'things' owned by persons… property may 'consist of rights in "things" that are intangible' (Whelan, 1980) …Property is thus said to be a right, not a thing, characterized as metaphysical, not physical" (p. 1725). Harris detailed historical examples of this definition of property utilized to argue for reputational benefits conferred by being racially classified as white, and many legal cases over time have deployed this definition of property to argue for the reputational rights of whiteness. Indeed, even in gifted education, this has been the case. For example, Barlow and Dunbar (2010) conducted a case study of a gifted magnet school and described the utilization of Harris's notion of reputation and status property in a lawsuit that was brought against the school. White parents of children who were denied access to the gifted magnet school sued the district for discriminatory practices. The magnet school was holding places for gifted students of

color to ensure legal compliance with diversity laws. Not only did the white parents prevail by settling the lawsuit out of court and reclaiming entitlements, but they did so by using a status and reputation argument that leveraged familiar themes from whiteness as property. This analytical lens allows for an investigation of the many more tacit and subtle ways that whites claim reputational property rights through gifted education, evidenced in both the historical record and the experiences of my research participants.

New Racism/Colorblind Racism. Finally, I have worked with Bonilla-Silva's (2014) theory of "new racism," also described as "colorblind racism" to produce an analysis of post-war eugenic discourses in gifted education. Bonilla-Silva described that a "new racism" emerged out of the Civil Rights Era as color-blind racism. New racism defines the components of contemporary, structural racism, and includes:

1. the increasingly covert nature of racial discourse and racial practices
2. the avoidance of racial terminology and the ever growing claim by whites that they experience 'reverse racism'
3. the elaboration of a racial agenda over political matters that eschews direct racial references
4. the invisibility of most mechanisms to reproduce racial inequality
5. the rearticulation of some racial practices characteristic of the Jim Crow period of race relations (p. 26).

Colorblind racism is thus a facet of new racism. As its name implies, color-blind racism refers to the tendency among whites today to perform a kind of race neutrality under the guise of an abstract liberalism that essentially sidesteps overt confrontations around racial injustice, while forwarding an antiracist identity (p. 76). This racism presents itself in

slippery and nuanced ways, often creating a "rhetorical maze" (p. 104) in which views on race are profoundly concealed. He described:

> Analysis of post-civil rights racial speech suggest whites rely on "semantic moves" …For instance, most whites use apparent denials ("I don't believe that, but…"), claims of ignorance ("I don't know"), or other moves in the process of stating their racial views. The moves act as rhetorical shields to save face because whites can always go back to the safety of their disclaimer ("I didn't mean that because, as I told you, *I am not a racist*!") (p. 105).

In contemporary U.S. society, *no one* wants to be thought of as racist, even many members of white supremacist organizations. For example, Kendi (2019) pointed out, "'Racist' isn't a descriptive word. It's a pejorative word. It is the equivalent of saying, "I don't like you."' Those are actually the words of White supremacist Richard Spencer, who, like Trump, identifies as 'not racist.'" (p. 9). Even the alt-right white supremacist leader, Richard Spencer, who was responsible for leading the march on Charlottesville in 2017 (during which his followers chanted "You will not replace us!" Almasy et al., 2017) does not want to be called a racist. Practically all white Americans speak in convoluted and complex ways to shield themselves from any possible perception of *being racist*. These semantic moves can be rhetorical, discursive or behavioral (e.g., silence, body language). They confuse and obscure the deeply embedded and durable culture and structure of systemic racism. In particular, I have leveraged this theoretical lens to discuss both present-day and historically rooted discourses concerning race, racism, and racialization in gifted education in terms of the coded ideologies that emerged during the Cold War and Civil Rights Eras.

Representation

Because my methodology is interdisciplinary, I have had to address multiple layers of ethnographic, historical, and theoretical material in the representation of my analytical process. The following outline describes how I constructed these layers within each analysis chapter, as well as details regarding the process I used to interrelate the past with the present through theoretical lenses.

The Relationship between Figured Worlds and Figured Landscapes. I have employed Holland et al.'s (1998) framework for figured world's theory to distinguish between the present ethnographic context I studied (i.e., the figured world of Greenfield's gifted and talented design team and their related communities); and the figured landscape of gifted education (i.e., the ideologies of the founders of gifted education). My analyses suggest that the themes I have identified in the figured world of Greenfield are drawn from, or at least strongly related to ideologies from the figured landscape of gifted education.

Organization of the Figured Landscape. The figured landscape is organized as strata: that is, ideological layers that are presented somewhat hierarchically beginning with the most foundational. This structure is not meant to suggest temporality, but rather the "weight" of these ideological constructs. For example, I see the belief that giftedness represents exceptionality as being the "heaviest" historical ideological construct discussed in Chapter 4 because it appeared to be the most deeply rooted in the psyches of the Greenfield community. It represents the bottommost layer of my strata metaphor. Because Holland et al. (1998) developed this notion of figured *landscape*, I have

provided landscape-inspired visual schemas to represent this geographical metaphor (see Figures 3, 4, and 7).

Organization of the Figured World. In order to identify themes within the figured world of Greenfield Public Schools, I have relied on several key concepts from Holland et al.'s work (1998), which I think of as analytical nodes because they have helped me to locate and connect the deeply held beliefs and symbolic meanings of the members of the GT Design Team and others with whom they interacted in the district. These include:

Cultural models. According to figured worlds theory (Holland et al, 1998), we construct cultural models in order to interpret the complex social situations, ideologies, and practices within our lived communities. The authors describe that the phrase,

> 'cultural model' directs attention to the ways in which individuals come to know and sense figured worlds. Defined cognitively, cultural models consist of schemas (mental/emotional knowledge structures) that guide attention to, draw inferences about, and evaluate experience. They also provide a framework for organizing and reconstructing memories of experiences (p. 297).

The members of the Greenfield Public Schools GT Design Team held complex, unstable cultural models of giftedness, gifted education, and antiracist education. For example, as active participants in antiracist district reform work, they were constantly questioning their personal beliefs around giftedness.

Narrativization. Narratives represent important signifiers of figured worlds. According to Holland et al. (1998), narrativization plays a crucial role in the formation of figured worlds because narratives, "convey the idea that many of the elements of a world

relate to one another in the form of a story or drama, a 'standard plot' against which narratives of unusual events are told" (p. 53). In other words, we tell stories within our figured worlds that help us collectively shape our beliefs, customs, understandings, practices and norms. My participants often told stories, recalling personal memories as well as narratives that had been conveyed to them by others, in order to frame their varied understandings of giftedness and gifted education. These cultural models were often not directly stated, but implied through narrative. Memories of their own childhoods, their own children's experiences in school, students they had taught, and exceptional members of the local and global community illustrated the cultural models of giftedness and gifted education being negotiated within their figured world.

Artifacts. Material artifacts represent important signifiers in discerning cultural models within figured worlds. Holland et al. (1998) explicitly state, "Figured worlds rely upon artifacts" (p. 60). Artifacts evoke figured worlds because they are constructed and used with great symbolic meaning. Poker chips in the hand of a member of Alcoholics Anonymous represent something very different (i.e., time in sobriety) than they do on the floor of a casino (i.e., money). Although physical artifacts that take on symbolic meaning are typical in figured world research, the artifacts I have analyzed are often textual (e.g., materials from a website), and therefore, discourse forward, yet no less symbolic. They also create openings into the figured world of gifted education in Greenfield Public Schools by materializing the various cultural models at play in the figured landscape.

Synthesis of the Figured World and Figured Landscape as a Tapestry. These analytical layers and nodes of the figured world have been woven together with the sociohistorical strata of the figured landscape. I have related the historical narratives I

constructed to the ethnographic themes I identified as a sort of warp and weft: the history weaves in and out of descriptions of qualitative themes, and both have been stitched together with selected theoretical frameworks. This narrative approach is intended to create the sense of a "time-tapestry" in which the present and the past are seen as distinct, yet intimately connected when viewed through theory.

Conclusion

The multitool approach to constructing histories of the present has allowed me to enact a recursive and iterative process of research that has been productive. I have leveraged this approach in order to operationalize the political aims, epistemological commitments, ontological lenses, and interrelated methods of critical ethnography and history. By using the themes that arose in Greenfield Public Schools to propel my inquiry back into the past (and visa-versa), I have been able to find clear examples of the ways in which long forgotten, hegemonic ideologies continue to shape our systems, processes and deeply held beliefs. Histories are often characterized by the two poles of change and continuity, but I have given less attention to change. However, I have done this intentionally because my goal has been to create a history of the present which encompasses the durability of sociohistorically rooted ideologies. Yet gifted education has evolved like any other discipline, an issue I discuss in the final chapter of this dissertation. I felt strongly that any discussion of history in gifted education would be less meaningful if I did not thoroughly ground its relevance in a very specific and present context. In the chapters that follow, I have represented these connections through a presentation of my findings from both the historical and ethnographic contexts. Although it is a densely woven tapestry, my hope is that the lines will be easy enough to follow and

that these chapters will effectively set the stage for the discussion and implications presented in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4

"What do we mean by 'gifted and talented'?" Eugenic Epistemologies and Ontologies

The day after George Floyd was murdered by police officer Derek Chauvin in Minneapolis, I was scheduled to give a virtual presentation on the history of eugenics in gifted education to some of the Greenfield School District staff. I had only just begun to get to know the members of the GT Design Team with whom I had shared some of my preliminary research into the history of eugenics in the field. The design team members thought this material was useful to their racial equity work, and had asked me to present several times already for different groups of educators in the district. I was starting to feel less vulnerable when giving my presentations, which featured a lot of my own story and journey to develop a more critical consciousness. But minutes before my virtual presentation was about to begin that morning, a friend texted me: "Did you hear what happened last night?" A moment later, I was watching the unwatchable scene of George Floyd struggling for breath in a video recorded the night before just a few miles from my home in Minneapolis.

Horrified, I slammed my laptop lid shut. Unable to fully process what I'd just seen, and with seconds remaining before I was supposed to begin my presentation, my mind filled with questions: Should I go on with this presentation? Would this talk be harmful or helpful to the people of color who would be present? Would I be letting down the antiracism leaders in Greenfield if I ran away? What was the right thing to do? Although historically redolent references to "400 years" of anti-Black racism and oppression would become a major theme in the aftermath of George Floyd's murder, at

that moment I was unsure if the evocation of painful histories was appropriate, healing, or useful. I wanted to back out of the presentation, but in a daze and with a pounding heart, I opened the computer, clicked the Zoom link, cleared my throat, and began to talk.

At the end of my presentation, a district official asked the staff members to share their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and desires to act. People expressed a range of reactions and discussed the relevance of the history in the wake of George Floyd's murder. A person of color commented that he would rather be here working on these problems than anywhere else, despite the heartache brought on by Floyd's death. Others described their worries and concerns about how gifted education and advanced academics functioned in racist ways in Greenfield; white people described feeling guilt and shame that they didn't know about the history of eugenics in the field; and a few people of color said they were repulsed, but unsurprised by it. Someone asked, with a tinge of antipathy on their voice, what do we even mean by 'gifted and talented,' anyway? (Reflexive Journal, November 4, 2020).

What *do* we mean? I had asked myself that question so many times, through many phases of my own critical consciousness work. But it never felt more urgent than on the morning after George Floyd was murdered with such casual dehumanization by a white police officer in full view of a cellphone camera. Over the preceding months, I had watched the members of GT Design Team -Max, Sarah, Mary, and Gale- struggle with this question. They grappled with the gross injustices evident in their gifted education program, which predominantly served middle-class white students in a district where almost half the student population were identified as people of color. Through the gifted pull-out and remedial programs as well as the tracked advanced academic pathways,

racial segregation was a normalized condition within Greenfield's schools. I'd witnessed the GT Design Team members move from using phrases like "gifted kids" to "so-called gifted" and back to "the gifted and talented students" as they grappled with their beliefs. I had watched them sidestep the direct conversation they'd been asked to have to "create a new definition of giftedness" and I'd witnessed bold conversations that challenged the empiricism of giftedness and mined its racializing and hegemonic effects.

The deconstruction of beliefs about giftedness, talent, intelligence, ability and the capacity to learn forms the foundation of my study. It links the present to the past in dynamic and sometimes unexpected ways. Exploring the question, "What do we mean by gifted and talented, anyway?" has required an engagement with the original work of Francis Galton (1865, 1873, 1908, 1925) and Lewis Terman (1916, 1922a, 1922b, 1925, 1931, 1932, 1951). Although there are other early psychologists who contributed to the founding of gifted education in the United States (including Leta Hollingworth, whose work I address in the next chapter), I have chosen to focus the analysis and discussion presented in this chapter on these key figures. Because of the depth and breadth of eugenic theorization, research, and policy in the United States and its strong ties to American psychology, it has been necessary (and challenging) to commit my data collection and analysis to these key figures. However, given that they are frequently named as the founders of gifted education (Jolly, 2018; NAGC, n.d.a; VanTassel-Baska, 2013), it is my hope that a more critical historical narrative related to their writings may support the illumination of historical continuities that maintain oppressive power networks, institutional and systemic racism, and racializing subjectivities in K-12 education. In the following analysis, I have constructed historical narratives based on

their work in order to present possible historical continuities that manifest in the themes drawn from my ethnographic research.

In this chapter, I have exclusively relied on Foucault's (1980, 1990, 1995, 2004) various theories related to disciplinary power to provoke this dialogue and connectivity between past and present. Foucault's theories of normalization, disciplinary time, power/knowledge, and biopower illuminate the historical connectivity between present belief and past ideology because they describe the ontological subjectivities that are internalized by contemporary actors and often taken for granted: contemporary societies and internal worlds are organized around networks of power that move through us, involving us deeply in hegemonic systems and practices.

Foucault's theories help to deepen and connect the ways in which our sense of reality and ways of being have been profoundly shaped by our sociocultural histories, although we often do not realize this. This chapter is concerned with excavating the ideologies of whiteness and white hegemonic culture constructed by the eugenic "scientists" of the past. Because Foucault was a historian of European contexts, his work is very useful in understanding past and present cultures of whiteness. In this chapter, I have made a deliberate decision to bracket the deep analysis of racism and racialization produced through gifted education, which is the subject of Chapters 5 and 6. The goal of this chapter is to establish the foundations of the social construction of "giftedness" within this framework of whiteness and white hegemony.

Figure 3 (below) represents a visual schema that illustrates how the sociohistorical figured landscape of gifted education interrelates with ethnographic themes in the present, as well as the analytical lenses I have leveraged to facilitate a

discourse between past and present in this chapter. The analysis I produced through my critical ethnographic and historical research in response to the question, "What does gifted and talented mean?" involved the following layers as depicted in Figure 3:

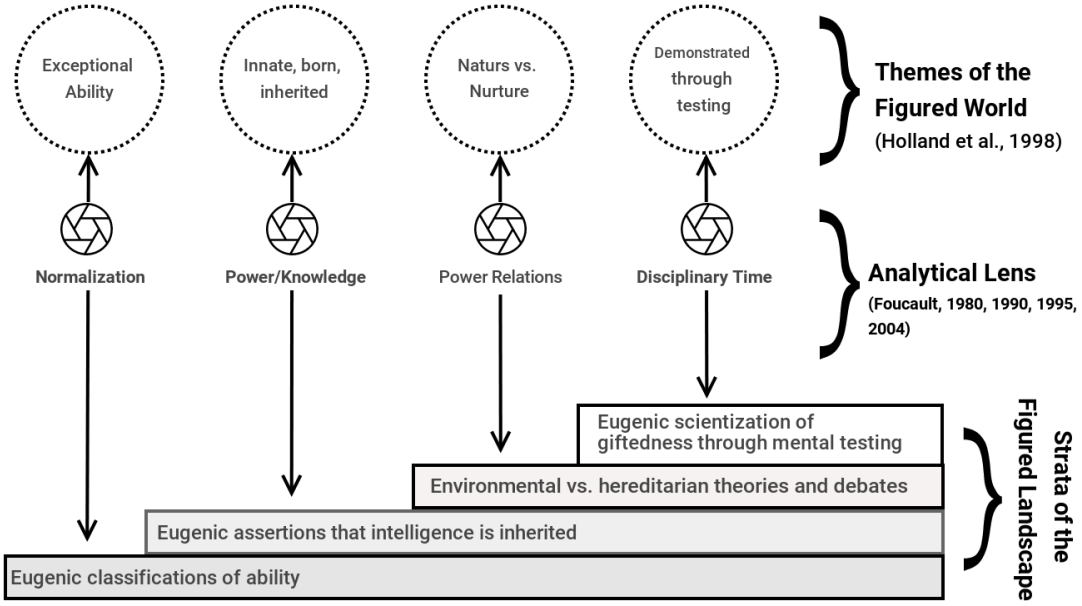
a) Four themes drawn from the figured world I studied at Greenfield Public Schools describing conceptions of giftedness: giftedness is exceptional ability; giftedness is innate; giftedness is confused by tension between nature and nurture; giftedness is demonstrated through testing. These are depicted in the circles at the top of Figure 3.

b) Four strata of the figured landscape related to each of the themes and are organized by "heaviness" in terms of their ideological weight in the cultural model of giftedness in Greenfield. A deeply internalized ideology of ranking and ordering students by ability is the heaviest layer of the strata, whereas the legacy of mental testing is the lightest because local actors questioned this practice the most.

c) Four analytical lenses from the work of Foucault (1980, 1990, 1995, 2004) that were used to connect present to past themes, including: normalization (1995), power relations (1980, 1990), power/knowledge (1980, 1990), and disciplinary time (1995).

Figure 3.

Excavated Themes of Chapter 4 Representing Historical Continuities between Figured Landscape and Figured World



This chapter is structured around the ethnographic themes, historical narratives and analytical lenses depicted above. I have begun by presenting findings from Greenfield (and my own life) related to the first qualitative theme, "giftedness is exceptional ability," and have described the narratives my participants and I have told ourselves about what makes a student gifted in terms of abilities that seem exceptional. I then explored the sociohistorical roots of this concept by reviewing the foundational work of Francis Galton (1869/1922) from his seminal text, *Hereditary Genius* and used Foucault's (1995) theory of normalization to explore how and why many of us tend to rank and order students by perceived abilities that are culturally valued. I then explored the ethnographic theme, "giftedness is innate," by sharing several stories from Greenfield educators concerning the belief that some people are actually born possessing certain abilities (or the propensity to develop exceptional ability in certain domains); to this theme I linked historical narratives related to the hereditarian theories of intelligence

(Galton, 1865, 1869/1922; Terman, 1916, 1925a) and analyzed the concept of genetically conferred giftedness with Foucault's (1980, 1990) theory of power/knowledge. Next, I took up the ethnographic theme, "giftedness is confused by nature vs. nurture," to explore the historical continuity of the tension that has existed for a long time between environmentalists and hereditarians, and discussed this legacy in terms of Foucault's theory of power relations. Finally, I explored the topic of mental testing as it was used in GPS and originally designed by Terman (1916). I explored practices and rhetoric concerning mental testing through the lens of disciplinary time (Foucault, 1995).

Giftedness as Exceptional Ability

In the fall of 2020, I was hunting for definitions of giftedness on Greenfield's public-facing website for the Gifted and Talented program. On the landing and subsequent pages, I discovered that gifted students were referred to variously as "students with exceptional abilities"; "students with demonstrated achievement on the Cognitive Ability Test (CogAT) and the Measures of Academic Progress"; "highly motivated students who are functioning at an abstract level"; and "children with outstanding talent relative to their age." In each of these definitional statements, there is an expression of a cultural model of giftedness with deep sociohistorical roots.

I asked a few members of the GT Design Team if they knew about these pages and who wrote them and most said they were not sure, but suggested some of the GT teachers together with a former district administrator had something to do with it. I wanted to know more about how the definitions on the website aligned with the members own conceptualizations of giftedness. I had continuously awaited a shared conversation on what it meant to be gifted that had not yet happened, and was hoping they would

collectively agree to deconstruct the category of "giftedness" and reframe it as a social construct. Thomas had included "creating a new definition for gifted and talented" as a task the team should complete on their list of activities. I wasn't sure if they were avoiding the conversation, or simply didn't have the time or bandwidth to take up the topic during the packed biweekly fall and winter meetings. I decided to begin directly asking Design Team members, as well as other educators in Greenfield, about their definitions of and beliefs about giftedness in one-on-one interviews where they had more time to talk and greater confidentiality.

Some understood giftedness to be more of a made-up category. For example, Thomas, who was identified as gifted as a child, experienced it as an exogenous label that he came to deconstruct over time:

> I was checked to see if I was gifted because I read very early. That's the way it was framed for me by my parents. They said, 'Oh, he must be gifted because he's reading at a very young age.' So for most of my life, that's the way that I've seen giftedness. Someone who is precocious. Someone who at an early age has learned how to do something, or has, you know, supposedly some sort of prowess at something that is not expected (Interview, January 29, 2021).

Giftedness was a category applied to Thomas and constructed around early exceptional ability: a gifted person was a young child who reads before the rest or has demonstrated some sort of "prowess." Thomas described carrying this unasked-for cultural model for a long time, until he reached a stage in his growth where he could deconstruct it as an educator through a different framework: "When I was young I had a clear definition

because people told me what giftedness was, but when I became an educator, and really when I became an administrator, I realized all of that was just a social construction."

But most GPS educators I spoke to framed giftedness as exceptional ability, just as the district webpage had. Max described, "You see a kid, they pick up on it so quickly. Or you see a kid perform something you go, oh my god that's utterly amazing…" (Interview, December 11, 2020). Max perceived that there was something about the GT students he had taught in Greenfield that stood out as compared to the rest. They were exceptional and out of the norm in terms of how they learned, talked, and performed in class. He described, "All kids have strengths… I think that where I, in my mind, draw a line (for gifted and talented) is the strength of their strengths." To Max, giftedness became visible in relation to the relative strengths of other students.

For some educators in Greenfield, cultural models of giftedness were evoked through narratives of remarkable performances they observed in children and youth. For example, one teacher told me a story about a student in the district: "You know I just think there's this little boy who's…already taking classes at the (local university). He's like 10 years old you know. His math ability is just so phenomenally outside the norm… he was tutoring our high school kids" (Interview, January 5, 2021). And another teacher described an older student in the community:

> For whatever reason, her little Catholic (high) school didn't offer this certain class so she didn't get to be in the calculus class or whatever it was the first year because she didn't have the prerequisite. So she taught herself calculus that summer on her own, with a calculus book on her own. And just figured it out and tested into the calculus class (Interview, December 14, 2020).

Max told a similar story about his son (who had been identified as gifted). He described,

> The things that my (son) just held onto… things he would see once…
>
> I remember walking by… a storefront with myself, my wife, and one of my daughters… And (my son) walked by and he said, "Oh, there's 104 shoes in that window." I don't remember what it was, but we were just walking by the stores. "There's 104 shoes in there." And my daughter walked back to count them. And it was 104 shoes in there. So it's little things like that (Interview, December 11, 2020).

I, too, had experiences like this, and as Max and other Greenfield teachers shared these stories with me, I found myself recalling bizarrely advanced math abilities I had witnessed as a gifted and talented teacher. In a self-reflexive memo, I wrote about a memory I kept recalling while conducting these interviews:

> There was a second grader whom I had been asked to support. I was kneeling down by her desk giving her some "math challenge" questions as an informal formative assessment. I asked her to skip count by some tricky numbers: 7, 11, 15. And she could do them all with ease. Perhaps a little exasperated by my inability to find a number that was too hard, I cheekily decided to throw her a curve ball: 'How about you skip count by 37?' Immediately, she replied, "74, 111, 148, 185, 222, 259…" When I told her mother that her daughter had rare math talent, she cried and told me this was the first time anyone had recognized her daughter's giftedness (Reflexive Journal, January 20, 2021).

In this memory, I framed the ability to skip count in relation to my expectations for other second graders. Because I expected skip counting by 7, 11 and 15 to be difficult, I was

shocked when the student skip counted by a much more difficult number. The emotional depth of the memory surfaced when I remembered her mother, a single working mom who had struggled to support her child. I delivered the message that her child had exceptional ability, and that was moving to both of us.

These powerful stories we witnessed and internalized convinced us of the reality of giftedness. We asked ourselves, how could a little boy glance at a window and instantly perceive precisely 104 shoes, how could a second grader skip count by 37 in her head with such ease, how could a high school student teach herself calculous with only a textbook? As we shared these narratives with others and participated in communities of gifted education, we formed cultural models of giftedness that constructed it as a propensity for superior ability. We began to seek out further evidence to build our schemas. Some of us had participated in professional development in gifted education. Max and I both pursued advanced courses that further reinforced this cultural model of giftedness through *science* in the form of literature we read in coursework, such as research articles penned by "experts" in the field of gifted education, reifying the definition of giftedness as "exceptional ability." As a district administrator, I relied on definitions produced by the leading professional organization for gifted education, the National Association for Gifted Children (NAGC): "Students with gifts and talents perform—or have the capability to perform—at higher levels compared to others of the same age, experience, and environment in one or more domains" (NAGC, n.d.c, para. 1).

The stories we tell and the information we glean from "scientific" or authoritative sources that describe giftedness as exceptional ability represent a cultural model that, for many of us (especially those of us grounded in white culture), *feels so real.* I do not deny

that remarkable and unusual performances by children *happen* (of course they do; skip counting by 37 in second grade is truly unusual). However, *the meaning we assign to such performances* is a product of our figured world: the belief that these performances signify exceptional ability is particular to our time, culture and socially constructed meaning-making experiences. The kinds of skills we value as indicators of giftedness are part this cultural model. For example, skills in math were far more likely to trigger our perceptions that a child is "gifted." In fact, none of my participants told stories about giftedness that featured social-emotional skills such as empathy or collaboration. Our indexing of exceptional ability is always in reference to a norm, some standard to which a certain behavior at a certain age is compared within the context of culturally valued academic skills. Furthermore, exceptional ability is implicitly rare, and requires a classification system of comparison in order to materialize. We can't all be exceptional, and if we do all become exceptional, that old exceptional standard now becomes the norm. Exceptional ability exists only within a framework of hierarchical ranking.

There are many ways to interpret and contextualize remarkable performances occurring in a specific context, time and place. For example, we could infer that such a performance as skip counting by 37 is evidence that all children of this age could be capable of the same level of skill and that we had better not put limits on children based on age. In fact, skip counting by 37 appears to be remarkable because of stage developmentalism (Piaget, 1964) and its many derivatives that apply skill benchmarking to delineate what is "normal" for a child of a certain age. We expect a certain limit on mathematical ability based on a students' age and organize our school systems around age because we have collectively defined what is normal performance at specific ages.

We have scientized this normalization and believe it reflects a well-established scientific reality.

Yet, especially when it comes to math, our expectations for students have changed dramatically over the last 100 years: many states now universally teach Algebra in middle school, which would have been unthinkable several decades ago (Baker et al., 2015; Klein, 2003). Furthermore, even our collective performance on supposedly normed, comparable, and stabilized I.Q. assessments have increased over time, something which is called the Flynn effect[9] (Schooler, 1998). Had Greenfield educators and I constructed a meaning-making system (i.e., a cultural model) that foreclosed the opportunity to interpret skip counting by 37 (or teaching oneself calculus with only a textbook, or counting 104 shoes with only a glance) in more dynamic ways? I argue that we each had internalized a historically-rooted system of hierarchization that allowed for this framing of giftedness, one that can be located in the work of the forerunners of both eugenics and gifted education.

Eugenic Classifications of Ability

Lewis Terman, the espoused father of gifted education (Jolly, 2018), appears to have been enormously influenced by Francis Galton, sometimes referred to as the "grandfather" of gifted education (Winkler & Jolly, 2014) or the true father of gifted education (VanTassel-Baska, 2013). For Terman, Galton was an intellectual giant. In his autobiography, Terman (1932) wrote, "Of the founders of modern psychology, my

[9] The "Flynn Effect" refers to the generational phenomenon that, despite stabilizing norming practices, I.Q. test scores have been steadily increasing by approximately 3 points per decade across the total population of industrialized nations for many years. Theories for this effect range from increased access to nutrition, healthcare, and education, as well as the possibility of measurement flaws in I.Q. assessments (Neisser, 1998).

greatest admiration is for Galton" (p. 330). Throughout Terman's life, Galton's work provided a guiding light in his advocacy for eugenics and his own social construction of intelligence and giftedness. Toward the end of Terman's life, he wrote in a letter to C.P. Blacker, General Secretary of the British Eugenics Society:

> I deeply appreciate your kindness in sending me a copy of Galton's *Hereditary Genius.* I read (it), of course, many years ago- perhaps most of it twice or more- but I shall probably read it all again after it arrives. It is one of the great landmarks in the history of the investigations on human inheritance (1951).

Although there was never an exact moment in time when the conception of "giftedness" appeared fully formed, the publications of Galton's (1865) article *Hereditary Talent and Character* and his subsequent book *Hereditary Genius* (1869/1922) represent a significant emergence, at least insofar as their eventual influence on American psychologists and especially Lewis Terman. While *Hereditary Genius* represents an attempt to apply Darwinian evolutionary theory to argue for the inherited nature of talent or ability, Galton came to define a quality (i.e., genius) that would inspire generations of educational psychologists. Yet, in the preface to the revised 1892 edition of the book, Galton wrote, "There was not the slightest intention on my part to use the word genius in any technical sense, but merely expressing an ability that was exceptionally high" (p. viii). Galton, an innovator of statistical methodologies, set much of the groundwork for defining giftedness as a quality that only exists in a context of systematic ranking, hierarchy and comparison. That is, "exceptional ability" is necessarily defined as relative to *less* exceptional or *un*exceptional abilities. *Hereditary Genius* illustrates exceptional ability through ranked lists of highly accomplished men

(e.g., judges, statemen, literary men, etc.) and diagrams revealing their family trees or "pedigrees," as Galton called them.

The first few chapters of *Hereditary Genius* (1869/1922) present a statistical model for ordering men by their "natural abilities." Based on his theory that eminence can serve as a proxy for natural ability, Galton defined a classification system for "grades of natural ability" (p. 30) in which individuals are ranked by Class A through Class G. Through this statistical classification system, he illustrates the rarity of exceptional ability (at a ratio of one in 1,000,000) and the commonality of mediocre ability (one in four), shown in a table depicting the numeric breakdown of his grade A through G classification system. Describing his statistical procedures, he wrote,

> It is an absolute fact that if we pick out of each million the one man who is naturally the ableist, and also the one man who is the most stupid, and divide the remaining 999,998 men into fourteen classes, the average ability in each being separated from that of its neighbors by *equal grades*, then the numbers in each of those classes will, on the average of many millions, be as it is stated in this table (p.30).

In other words, if we invent a system to quantify the "ability" of human beings and then rank them, we will find that the most superior are in the minority. Although this table is not based on actual data collected by Galton, he employs positivistic language to assert his mathematical truths (e.g., "It is an absolute fact…") when referring to the statistical method he used to theoretically order grades of natural ability (i.e., "the assured law of deviations from an average," p. 30). This language, used throughout the book, points to the power/knowledge involved in Galton's framing of exceptional ability as a fixed

quality of genius and a scientized construct. Although statistics are practically omnipresent among many of our educational figured worlds today, such tools represented an incipient technology of power during Galton's lifetime, which he used to normalize and order populations around his conception of exceptional ability.

Although it may seem like ranking has been with humanity forever, Foucault's (1990, 1995) genealogies contextualize and describe the emergence of normalization which allowed for such detailed classifications to hold great significance in white, Western culture. According to Foucault (1995), normalization emerged as a mechanism of power around the 18th century during a time of sociopolitical transition, which shifted social control from sovereign power (i.e., top down) to unidirectional and surveillance-oriented distributed networks of power. By defining "the norm," within any specific institution or social practice, individuals could be surveilled and punished for straying outside its boundaries, an activity Foucault referred to as "normalizing judgement" (p. 177). More specifically, normalization allowed for ranking, segmenting and unitizing groups of people in terms of worth: "It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchizes in terms of the value of abilities, the 'level,' the nature of individuals" (p. 183). Foucault's theory is that such normalizations encouraged all members of society to surveille and bring those out of step into compliance with their rank. Galton's (1869/1922) classification table showing the rankings of "natural ability" and "general powers" (p. 30) illustrates normalizing judgement and defines exceptional ability as falling far outside the range of normal ability into which the majority falls.

The deeply held belief that gifted and talented students demonstrate "exceptional ability," as described in Greenfield's institutional definition for giftedness, as well as in

some of the narratives shared by my participants, represents a historical continuity based on Francis Galton's foundational work. By creating a system to more "scientifically" rank and order the population around a significant concept, "ability," Galton created a cultural model that eventually grew into a movement: gifted education. He defined a separate class of people, "geniuses," who can only exist in a hierarchized comparative framework. As Margolin (1993) articulated, "Good and evil are mutually defined; each is meaningful only in relation to the other. Thus, discourse on the gifted only occurs alongside an implied (or explicit) discourse on the nongifted" (p. 511).

Galton (1869/1922) exploited this system of normalization that redistributed power through a complex matrix. Normalization and its various hierarchies describe the ways in which we all expect, surveille and police adherence to categories within the norm. Greenfield teachers and I indexed our observations and memories of exceptional ability within this framework. And although Galton's work can seem both bizarre and unscientific today, his ideas were highly influential and are still walking among us and even living inside of us. Our organization of students in gifted and special education categories mirrors Galton's classification system for "natural gifts": he outlined that it is a mathematical fact that when men are organized in this way, both "geniuses" and the "the most stupid" (p. 30) will be in the minority, whereas the mediocre middle will be the majority: "Eminently gifted men are raised as much above mediocrity as idiots are depressed below it; a fact that is calculated to considerably enlarge our ideas of the enormous differences of intellectual gifts between man and man" (p. 32).

Hereditary Genius (1869/1922) and Galton's subsequent works on eugenics went on to inspire vast policies and institutions that flourished in the racist, classist hegemonies

of the U.S., constructing a figured landscape built around grades of ability. Although we live under the illusion that such hegemonic systems were left in the dust of our past, it is clear that institutionally, we reify Galton's "grades of ability" not only in Greenfield, but in almost every school district across the U.S. that includes a tracked system for gifted education. Furthermore, at an individual level, we internalize its schema to judge "the gifted" as demonstrating exceptional abilities in comparison to a hierarchized system of performative expectations. We concern ourselves with classifying students in this way at both an institutional level and a deeply personal one: our memories and experiences are interpreted to add proof to the reality of this schema, cementing it in our worldviews and figured world.

Giftedness is Innate Ability

When Greenfield educators shared their stories of exceptional ability with me, they also constructed them around a key concept, a cornerstone of eugenic ideology and a piece of many overt and covert understandings of giftedness today: gifted students were *born* this way. As Max described it,

> For a long time, I believed (giftedness) was innate and I continue to believe that's a piece of it. That it's innate and genetically driven, I'm not sure that I even have a basis for that. But I just know that belief is within me (Interview, December 11, 2020).

Another teacher described,

> I do think that people are born with some certain innate talents… If there was a science experiment where we could take away all the variables that might involve a kid living in a home that was great at math or liked math or whatever. You

> probably read studies where it's just, they were born this way. I do think there are people like that. I really, really do (Interview, November 16, 2020).

For these educators, their internalized cultural model of giftedness defined it as innate. Greenfield educators also illustrated their point with examples from their own lives. Max described that no matter how hard he tried, he could never become an accomplished musician because he simply was not born with that ability. One teacher described how math never came easily to her and that no matter what she had done or how hard she had worked, she would never have been able to excel in math (Interview, December 14, 2020). Their cultural models of giftedness as innate (and therefore fixed) adhered to a framework of heredity.

Greenfield's definitions of giftedness (as expressed in the artifacts I described earlier) did not explicitly state that giftedness is heritable. In fact, Greenfield's protocol for identifying gifted students was somewhat unusual compared to many other school districts, including those where I've worked. GPS identified students as gifted on a year-by-year basis using test scores. For example, students could be identified as gifted in 3rd grade, but then fail to qualify as gifted in 4th grade if their test scores dropped below predetermined cuts. Many school districts hold to the adage, "once gifted, always gifted" (Mathews & Foster, 2005), emphasizing the diagnostic approach to identifying giftedness as fixed and innate. Even though Greenfield Public Schools used a more formative process for identifying gifted students year-by-year, implying a more achievement-oriented conception of giftedness, some of my participants held the belief that giftedness represented an inborn quality. Are some children just born smarter or more talented than others, that is, gifted and talented?

Eugenic Assertions that Intelligence is Inherited

Francis Galton (1869/1922) wrote *Hereditary Genius* after he experienced a "marked epoch in my own mental development" (1908, p. 287) after reading *On the Origin of Species* by his cousin Charles Darwin (1959/1964). He began to think deeply about the possibility of intelligence as heritable and described,

> I had been immensely impressed by the many obvious cases of heredity among the Cambridge men who were at university about my own time… I soon found the power of heredity to be as fully displayed in every other direction toward which I turned" (p. 288-289).

For Galton, evidence of his own success and that of his wealthy, privileged, male peers formed the foundation for his construction of a cultural model of innate intelligence: the hereditary framework, loosely drawn from Darwin's theory of evolution, applied narratively and as an explanation for why Cambridge men were so wonderfully brilliant. His alacrity with statistics gave his assertions that intelligence is heritable a scientized status. Galton's cousin Charles Darwin soon became open to this cultural model of intelligence. After reading the first chapters of *Hereditary Genius*, he wrote in a private letter to Galton:

> You have made a convert of an opponent in one sense, for I have always maintained that, excepting fools, men did not differ much in intellect, only in zeal and hard work; and I still think this is an *eminently* important difference" (Darwin, Private Letter, n.d., cited in Galton, 1908, p. 290)

Although Darwin underscored the significance of zeal and hard work (signifying a longstanding debate I discuss in the next section of this chapter), his willingness to accept

intelligence as a limited essence based on biology and conferred through heredity is striking[10].

In *Hereditary Genius* (1869/1922), Galton constructed the foundation for later and more explicit work on eugenics, linking his theory of the genetic heritability of intelligence with eugenic control of the population to produce a master race. He wrote,

> [A] man's natural abilities are derived by inheritance, under exactly the same limitations as are the form and physical features of the whole organic world. Consequently… to obtain by careful selection a permanent breed of dogs or horses gifted with peculiar powers of running, or of doing anything else, so it would be quite practicable to produce a highly gifted race of men by judicious marriages during several consecutive generations" (p. 1).

Galton goes on to argue in consecutive chapters that, by tracing the "pedigrees" of notable men, evidence that biological inheritance alone accounts for greatness and thus, intelligence is genetically conferred, *not* developed through "zeal and hard work."

Lewis Terman devoted his career to amassing a body of evidence to bolster Galton's assertions that intelligence is heritable. In Volume 1 of Terman's (1925a) *Genetic Studies of Genius* he declared that since Galton's death, studies of the heritability of intelligence had "furnished conclusive proof that native differences in endowment are a universal phenomenon" (p. v). In Terman's study of "1,000 Gifted Children[11]" (p.1) Terman established his own scientized evidence that Galton was right: intelligence

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[10] Darwin went on to more fully embrace Gatlon's ideas of the hereditary nature of "genius." In his book, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1896) he cited Galton's research and described that genius is inherited. He also criticized humanitarian practices that allowed "the weak" to continue to reproduce, suggesting an increasing affinity for eugenic ideology.

[11] The actual sample size of the original "gifted group" was 1,444 and eventually was expanded to include 1,528 individuals.

appeared to be inherited. Even though Terman had advanced the technology for defining and quantifying intelligence, he drew this evidence from Galton's (1869/1922) old "pedigree map" method (i.e., the process of identifying high achieving relatives to demonstrate that "[t]he number of highly successful, even eminent, relatives is impressively great," p. 634), devoting a full chapter to "Intellectually Superior Relatives" (Terman, 1925a, p. 85). Like Galton, Terman also relied on *Who's Who* (1921-22; cited in Terman, 1925a, p. 92), a reference book of notables that had been published annually since 1849 to substantiate the eminence and genius of relatives connected to his sample. The vast majority of his gifted subjects were white and middle- to upper-middle class, which he used to construct "proof" that the best genes for intelligence could be found in the whiter, wealthier castes.

Both Terman and Galton exploited "power/knowledge" (Foucault, 1980) in their discourses on the heritability of giftedness, genius, and natural ability. Foucault emphasized that knowledges that represent themselves as the truth are actually power-mediated constructions. In a positivistic, ontological framework (such as that employed by Galton and Terman), knowledges are presented as objective, pure and factual. In a Foucauldian understanding, knowledge is both the subjective production of power and a prime mechanism to produce power. In this same way, the discourses of Galton and Terman positioned them as experts deploying complex science to the less learned. Galton (1869/1922) discursively defined himself as the intellectual superior to his readers, exemplified through statements such as, "I entreat my readers not to be frightened at the very first sight of the notation I employ" (p. 44). The hereditarian theory of Galton's work is expressed in terms of his positivistic discourse: "There cannot, therefore, remain

a doubt as to the existence of a law of distribution of abilities in families" (p. 309) substantiated by his frequent use of those terms: "facts," "laws," "proof." Terman (1925a) voiced the positivistic tones of his forerunner, insisting that not only proof, but "conclusive proof" confirms that intelligence is inherited.

From the contemporary perspective, it is glaringly obvious in the pedigree maps constructed by Galton (1869/1922) and Terman (1925a) alike that wealthier and more privileged families conferred material benefits and unearned status to their children and grandchildren. Their argument seems ridiculous: that privileged families known for their notoriety led to a higher level of notoriety in their offspring as compared to the rest of the population, and somehow this implies heredity of ability as opposed to a stable system of stratified inequality. Terman[12] and Galton were white, privileged men who argued that eminence and success is a result of superior genes as opposed to unfair advantages conferred by a racist caste system into which they had the good fortune to be born at the top. Power/knowledge generated through their positivistic discourse is used as a tool to make such claims appear more legitimate, to generate authority and influence public opinion, and to establish scientific credibility among academics. The elaborate discursive power/knowledges Galton and Terman exploited to enshroud their arguments in a cloud of authority apparently seemed quite convincing to their contemporaries who were disposed toward such ideologies.

Although the Greenfield educators who shared their views may not have consciously recognized the implicit genetic implications of their beliefs about innate

[12] Terman did not grow up in abject poverty, but unlike Galton, he was not born wealthy. Nonetheless, the advantages of white, male privilege are undeniable forces that supported his rise to eminence within academia.

ability, they were drawing off the figured landscape of gifted education through their conviction that some people are just born with exceptional abilities. They experienced this deeply rooted belief that some are simply born exceptional, and despite challenges to those beliefs they could not (yet) uproot that aspect of their cultural model. As Max put it, "I know that belief is within me" (Interview, December 11, 2020). However, they did not seem to consider race, class, hegemony, and social positioning when discussing the individuals that they had known who seemed to have been born with exceptional abilities. One teacher pointed out that if there were experiments that could remove the influence of family and environment, we might be able to see that some people truly are born with a natural ability. He wondered if I had read about such studies and indeed, I had. There have been *many* experiments to investigate the hereditary nature of giftedness. The essential "truth" these studies have attempted to unearth is whether nature (i.e., genes) or nurture (i.e., environment) has the strongest influence on manifest intelligence and thus, giftedness. In the next section, I have analyzed this theme more thoroughly.

Giftedness is Confused by Nature vs. Nurture

One winter evening in 2020, many months into the COVID-19 pandemic, I stared into my computer screen while Mary and I talked. We were both tired after long days on Zoom, teaching or meeting with students and colleagues. It was late and I was asking her difficult questions. But, as always, she spoke slowly and thoughtfully. She described her reflections on having been a gifted and talented teacher in her district, how she had learned more about the complexities of racism and come to question her original beliefs about giftedness. As we talked, she reflected on her perceptions of giftedness when she worked as a gifted and talented teacher:

> One thing that I've noticed is students who are single children who are used to having
>
> conversations with adults in their life around using like rich vocabulary and really like pressing them to think. And sometimes I don't feel like they have that opportunity in the classroom, like they don't have a peer or affinity (group). And so I saw an opportunity… for like really having to think and be creative and like craving that… wanting to have to think and …it's not that I don't think that all students want that. I just had the opportunity to see it play out. Really loud and clear (Interview, December 21, 2020).

Mary linked an environmental condition to an interpretation of student motivation within the context of school. Although she was not yet racializing her observations of giftedness in our conversation, Mary identified "single children" and their being "used to having conversations with adults" as a key factor in appearing as "gifted" and apparently lacking challenge at school. Mary acknowledged that there are environmental or situational factors at play in terms of who appears to want more challenge, but also recognized that all children may want that. She went on to unearth more of her shifting cultural model of giftedness:

> I just think about how much the kids in GT, (for) most of them the label felt special, which I didn't like. But just like, their hunger to want to know more and do more… I was (watching) 60 minutes last night. The whole first part was on the (Covid-19) vaccine. And I thought, Oh my gosh, thank God there are people in the world who are that smart or, you know, like, have that drive to find answers or solutions. And in the same hour, there's the segment about like how we have a

> belief gap, you know, in who can do what. And so that's kind of the world I'm torn between, like, how do we set people up to still do amazing things.

Mary's narrative evinces her shifting cultural model of giftedness, something she both tacitly and explicitly acknowledged. On the one hand, she was "torn between" the idea that "there are people in the world who are that smart" and the responsibility to "set people up to still do great things" while making such opportunities available to everyone. Through analyzing Mary's discourse, I discern a struggle to bring a deeply rooted cultural model of "natural ability" (to use Galton's, 1869/1922, phrase) out of the shadows and put it into conversation with her understanding that we, as upholders of the educational institution, put limits on what students can do. Mary could see that, for example, only-children may have been influenced by the extra attention from adults who used rich vocabulary and pushed them to think. Mary perceived that such students seemed to show up in school as not having a peer or affinity group (i.e., intellectually equal to their level). Yet even as she reflected on the *60 Minutes* special, she discursively juxtaposed a natural ability model (i.e., "people who are that smart"; nature) with an environmental one (i.e., people who "have that drive to find answers or solutions"; nurture). Later in the conversation she sighed and admitted to me, "I'm just confused, Maggie."

Environmental vs. Hereditarian Theories of Intelligence

Mary's internalization of the nature/nurture debate can be sociohistorically oriented. It represents a dispute as longstanding as the theories laid out in the 19th century by Francis Galton (1865, 1869/1922, 1873, 1876, 1883). De Candolle (1873), who published a counter study to Galton's (1869/1922) *Hereditary Genius*, asserted that environmental, cultural and linguistic factors led to the eminence (at least of notable

scientists) which Galton used as a proxy for "natural ability" in his statistical analysis. However, Galton's (1873) response to de Candolle rhetorically defined the nature vs. nurture controversy that continues to this day. In a sharp critique of de Candolle's book, Galton wrote, "The most valuable part of his investigation is this: What are the social conditions most likely to produce scientific investigators, irrespective of natural ability, and a *fortiori*[13], irrespective of theories of heredity?" (p. 200). Galton reframed de Candolle's argument[14] that "nurture" develops intellect and eminence as evidence that the environment further goads inherited, innate ability; a lack of the essential "germ" of intelligence would fail to thrive even under ideal circumstances.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, as Lewis Terman was constructing the groundwork for gifted education, he passionately defended the hereditarian argument and scorned environmentalists' claims. He anchored this stance in his eugenic ideology. For example, in a letter to Charles Davenport, director of the Eugenic Records Office, he suggested the topic of nature vs. nurture for an upcoming conference:

> The only additional topic… that possibly ought to be reported has to do with the nature/nurture problem in the development of intelligence. As you know, there are a good many psychologists and anthropologists these days, also sociologists, who are inclined to argue that the intelligence of an individual develops during childhood and adult life is determined largely, if not entirely, by his cultural environment and formal training. If that is true then eugenics has no place as far

[13] "A *fortiori* in Latin literally means, "'from the stronger (argument)'. The term is used when drawing a conclusion that's even more obvious or convincing than the one just drawn." (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).
[14] De Candolle and Galton agreed on one point: that the races are genetically stratified when it comes to intelligence. *Hereditary Genius* (1869/1922) provided evidence of the superior intelligence of the white race and the inferior intelligence of all other races, with Black people at the very bottom.

> as intellectual differences in human beings are concerned. Its principles would apply only, if at all, to physical traits. Should not a problem so fundamental to the scope of eugenics receive discussion at this meeting? (Terman, 1931)

Terman went on to recommend Thorndike (a preeminent psychologist) as the great defender of the hereditarian view of intelligence. In this letter, he expressed a sense of urgency to settle the debate of whether the environment or genetics is responsible for determining human intelligence. He links the significance of this debate to the very purpose of eugenics. Without a strong body of evidence and convincing rhetoric that intelligence is fundamentally a genetic trait, there is essentially no use for eugenics (unless of course it wants to concern itself only with the mundane topics of size, height, weight, health and other physiological concerns). Terman, along with other eugenic, hereditarian psychologists often took it upon himself to demolish environmentalist studies and preserve the mission of eugenics.[15]

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[15] For example, when a newly minted Ph.D., Bernadine Schmidt, published an article based on her dissertation research, it was picked up by *Reader's Digest* and other popular journals because of its surprising findings. Florence Goodenough, a colleague of Terman's, described the study in a letter to him:

> By the way, have you read that utterly stupid monograph of Bernadine Schmidt's that has been creating such a stir in the popular magazines? – the one in which she claims to have turned 254 feeble minded children into normal self-supporting citizens by only three years of special training in spite of the fact that nearly half had I.Q.'s below 50 at the start? (Goodenough, 1948).

Terman and his colleagues, apparently, seem to have made it their mission to destroy Schmidt's research and her career. Both he and Goodenough, along with several other academics, proceeded to publish deeply critical reviews of her study and delighted in each other's viciousness. Terman (1948a) wrote to Goodenough, "I am delighted with your review of Dr. Schmidt's Monograph. It is objective, unemotional, damning…" Goodenough was especially nasty: "I cannot make up my mind whether the woman is a psychopath, one of the members of her own group for whom the treatment didn't take, or a very poor liar." Terman (1948b) later wrote to Goodenough about his own review, "I am afraid my comments will sound pretty nasty, but I couldn't resist the temptation to just say what I think about it." Goodenough eventually advocated for Schmidt to be ousted from the American Psychology Association. For a critical analysis revealing that Terman, Goodenough, and other eugenic educational psychology scholars lacked little actual evidence in their claim that Schmidt falsified her data (which destroyed her career), see Kliewer et al., 2006.

As described in the previous section, Terman and his like-minded colleagues used positivistic language to generate and transmit power/knowledge asserting the hereditary nature of intelligence as a scientific fact. Terman regularly wrote articles for the public published in newspapers that functioned to promulgate eugenic ideologies via scientific assertions. For example, in a column published in the magazine, *World's Work*, Terman wrote,

> Intelligence is chiefly a matter of physical traits are (*sic*) subject to the laws of native endowment. It depends upon the cerebral cortex which, like other physical traits, are subject to the laws of heredity. In fact, the mathematical coefficient of family resemblances in mental traits, particularly intelligence has been found to be almost exactly the same as for such physical traits as height, weight, cephalic index etc. Measurement of twin pairs shows the excess resemblance for such pairs, as compared with ordinary brother-brother or sister-sister pairs, to be as great for mental as for physical traits. All the available facts that science has to offer support the Galtonian theory that mental ability are chiefly a matter of original endowment (1922b, para. 1).

In this piece, written for a non-academic audience, Terman used assertive, positivistic language to create an authoritative tone. Terms such as "laws of native endowment," "mathematical coefficient," and "all the available facts that science has to offer" confer a sense of absolute, unquestionable truth. He relates the ineffable (and impossibly subjective) construct of intelligence with tangible and biological matter: weight, height, the cerebral cortex, the cephalic index (i.e., an antiquated term with ties to scientific racism referring to the size of the skull in proportion to the body). Further, his reference

to twin studies is one of the most long-standing artifacts of rhetoric used to support the hereditarian theory of natural ability.

After the publication of *Hereditary Genius* (1869/1922) when Galton (1876) was intensely pursuing his eugenic research agenda, he employed twin studies to describe the influence of nurture (i.e., the environment) as opposed to nature (i.e., genetics). His original experiment involved surveying twins or "near relations" (p. 392) of twins in order to collect information on a range of topics, including mental heredity. Based on his responses (and other anecdotal data he culled together), Galton concluded that, "There is no escape from the conclusion that nature prevails enormously over nurture when the differences of nurture do not exceed what is commonly to be found among persons of the same rank of society and in the same country" (p. 404). Although Galton seemed to struggle with defining the differences between identical (monozygotic) and fraternal (dizygotic) twins, his claim would influence a century and a half of research into this question. Terman did not concentrate his own research on twin studies, but encouraged it because of the strong evidence it produced to support the hereditarian theory of intelligence (Burks et al., 1949). Such studies continue to this day, furnishing the research agendas of hereditarian intelligence researchers with evidence that genes do mediate intelligence, but there is a great deal of contemporary research that counters these claims in a variety of ways[16] (e.g., Kess-Jan et al., 2013; see Bliss, 2018, for a review of the literature and discussion of sociogenomic and bioethical perspectives on twin studies and heritability of intelligence).

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[16] For literature that has debunked the hereditarian theory of intelligence, see Gould's (1996) *The Mismeasure of Man*; Schooler's (1998) discussion of the sociocultural factors involved in the Flynn effect; as well as many of the essays in *The Bell Curve Debate* (Jacoby & Glauberman, 1995).

The mainstream, U.S. education system was deeply influenced not only by Lewis Terman and other hereditarian educational psychologists, but also by democratically-oriented philosophers of education, such as Walter Lippmann (1922), a social theorist, and John Dewey, a founding member of American pragmatism and the democratic education movement. Dewey (1922a) was an environmentalist who believed that intelligence was profoundly tied to social conditioning. He saw in Terman and other hereditarian advocates an elitism that threatened the democratic education movement. Dewey believed that Terman and his ilk represented an "intellectual aristocracy," which hoped to continue seeing their caste reified through the public education system via testing, categorizing, tracking, and labeling. Dewey wrote that hereditarian theories of intelligence were social constructions used to, "rationalize the inequities of our social order by appealing to innate and unalterable psychological strata in the population'' (p. 289). For Dewey, the belief that intelligence was heritable represented an aristocratic system that threatened democracy because it described social inequality as a natural phenomenon which society could not subvert through humanitarian policy and democratic practices. Furthermore, eugenic hereditarians at the time were arguing that the natural intelligence of the general population was too low to be given decisional authority via democratic processes, an assertion that alarmed Dewey.

Dewey (1922b) stressed that in order for a democracy to thrive, a diversity of individual abilities was required: "Every human being as an individual may be the best for some particular purpose and hence be the most fitted to rule, to lead, in that specific respect" (p. 297), and he saw the diversity of experiences at school as key in opening the expansive potential contained within each individual. The development of abilities could

be motivated by interest, curiosity and experience. Dewey stressed the importance of the process of constant change across society that continuously redefined and repositioned different kinds of human activities and concurrent abilities. He critiqued hereditarian intelligence scholars who posited an extremely narrow view of intelligence that failed to account not only for the dynamic nature of human development, but also for the dynamic evolution of human societies and technologies. He criticized hereditarians like Lewis Terman who lost sight of the purpose of democratic education in their insistence that some are born smarter than others. For Dewey, the Nature vs. Nurture debate was a philosophical one that emphasized the teleology of hereditarianism, as opposed to the endless and circular quibbling that resulted in attempts to amass evidence in support of one side or the other.

This figured landscape, which ideologically pits democracy (as a commitment to the strength of diversity rather than the stratification of individuals) against the rights of the individual (within a hereditarian framework of ability) is evident in the Greenfield Public School system, as well as in Mary's internal ideological conflict. Her struggle to actualize her belief that all children have developable intellectual capacity could be located in this legacy. Like other school systems in the U.S., Greenfield inherited a shared American history rooted in a commitment to the scientized conception of intelligence and "giftedness," but regularly challenged by ideological counterpoints that lean toward a democratic orientation. Mary struggled to affirm her belief in an antiracist system of education while wondering, "How do we set people up to still do amazing things?"

One way to understand the longstanding struggles between hereditarians and environmentalists in terms of the nature vs. nurture debates which Mary internalized is to consider Foucault's (1990) conception of power relations. As described in Chapter 3, the theory of power relations constructs power in a networked model through which individuals at stations and statuses all throughout society are its conduits. But Foucault also stressed that power relations are constructed through and fed by resistance:

> The points, knots, or focuses of resistance are spread over time and space at varying densities, at times mobilizing groups or individuals in a definitive way… Are there no great radical ruptures, massive binary divisions, then? Occasionally, yes. But more often one is dealing with mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, furrowing across individuals themselves... (p. 96)

Foucault described the ways in which resistance within networked power relations produces unexpected and unstable effects. While Dewey's (1922a, 1922b) democratic critique of hereditarian views of intelligence would seem to represent a "radical rupture" with the hereditarian framework, its longstanding impact has been to produce "cleavages that shift about." In Mary's internalized conflict of the nature/nurture debate, I can also see evidence of these effects of resistance at the individual level, affecting and constructing Mary's own subjectivity. Although Foucault's (1990) theory of power relations stresses subjectivity and seems to position individuals as hapless enactors of structural forms of power, his emphasis on resistance complicates our understanding of the ways in which individuals exercise agency within the power network of modern society. It is uncanny that this layer of the nature vs. nurture debate characterizes much of

the division and tension within schools today, Greenfield being no exception. Many school districts struggle to maintain and justify their tracked, gifted education programming while forwarding an agenda of democratic educational values (for example, see Bazzazz, 2019; Palmer, 2019; Richards, 2020). Perhaps resistance within the framework of power relations perpetuates these tensions (possibly by fueling the will to double down into one stance or the other and continue the debate over many generations), rather than resolving them, as Foucault seems to suggest.

Holland et al. (1998) also stress the complicated nature of personal agency within figured worlds theory. Because they draw off the work of Bahktin (1981, as cited in Holland et al., 1998) and other discourse theorists, internalization of discourse is central in their theory of autonomy and agency within figured worlds. The authors explain that in order to displace a cultural model, "others' words must become 'internally persuasive speech'" (p. 193). Whereas Max and other Greenfield educators seemed to have internalized the persuasive speech of the hereditarian cultural model for giftedness, Mary internalized the persuasive speech of oppositional viewpoints, creating an interior conflict: the nurture-focused democratic belief that intelligence must be defined in a pluralistic framework that values the diversity of its expressions; and the hereditarians, who believed that genetic endowment is the predominant driver of a narrow conception of ability. Both Holland et al. and Foucault (1990) point to the interconnectedness of subjectivities that drive our agentic actions: for many Greenfield educators, a transformed cultural model of giftedness was required in order to supplant deeply entrenched beliefs before they could take definitive action to disrupt the inequitable system that had been in place for many years.

Giftedness as Demonstrated through Testing

The text on Greenfield's website defined giftedness in terms of students' performance on assessments. The gifted and talented are, "students with demonstrated achievement on the Cognitive Ability Test (CogAT) and the Measures of Academic Progress" (Greenfield website, 2020). Although members of the GT Design Team had come to deeply question the use of assessments to locate giftedness, testing has long been a major psychological tool in the arsenal of the figured landscape of gifted education. The CogAT is a mental test of ability, which serves as a proxy for more time consuming and labor intensive I.Q. assessments. Riverside Publishing, the distributors of the CogAT test, describe that the "CogAT…measure(es) abilities across the symbol systems that are most highly correlated with fluid reasoning, problem solving, and success in school" (Riverside Insights, 2021). "Abilities" are not well defined in this statement– we can only infer that whatever they are measuring, it has something to do with "the symbol systems" which are correlated with things like "fluid reasoning" and apparently, success in school. For the lay person, this definition of ability is difficult to discern.

Ability is often defined in relation to achievement. Achievement represents the demonstration of academic skills, usually measured through tests of reading and math like the Measure of Academic Progress (MAP). Ability, on the other hand, represents cognitive skill and thus, achievement potential. Tests like the CogAT include items that serve as a proxy for reasoning and problem solving, and indicate ability. Ability is *thinking*, whereas achievement (as demonstrated on tests like the MAP) is academic performance. Ability is hidden and internal; achievement is actualized and external. Both are used to identify giftedness (see Reis & McCoach, 2002).

It is often a common understanding among educators and parents concerned with gifted education that you can be high achieving and "not truly gifted," just a hard worker[17] (Bainbridge, 2020). In order to be gifted, you must demonstrate ability via a cognitive ability or I.Q. test. The abilities measured by such tests are often domain-specific: the "symbol systems" of the CogAT index ability via three batteries, including quantitative (reasoning with numbers), verbal (reasoning with oral and written language), and non-verbal (reasoning with symbols, as in patterns with shapes). Such tests play an essential role in concretizing ability, that ineffable quality so essential to. What is the genealogy of mental testing represented by Greenfield's definition of giftedness as "demonstrated achievement on the Cognitive Ability Test (CogAT)"? Further, do such tests help to clarify definitions of giftedness as "exceptional ability," and if so, how?

Eugenic Scientization of Giftedness through Mental Testing

As described in Chapter 2, Lewis Terman was a leading figure in the mental testing movement, in addition to being the "father" of gifted education (Jolly, 2018). In one of Terman's (1916) most significant contributions to mental testing, his revision of the Binet-Simon scale, he defined intelligence as fixed and immutable, a departure from Binet's (1909) suggestion that any child's intellect could be developed. This position was applied to the question of giftedness: Terman insisted that intellectually superior children were destined to be the future leaders and innovators in politics, science, the arts and so forth. Yet they were frequently under-identified and underchallenged in the general

[17] See Figure 8 in the Appendix. I was given this kind of handout comparing the "bright" to the "truly gifted" child countless times at professional development events for gifted education. This discourse has deep eugenic undertones which imply genetic heritability of authentic giftedness.

school setting. He asserted the necessity of mental testing in identifying the very intelligent among us:

> It would be greatly to the advantage of such children if their superior ability were more promptly and fully recognized, and if (under proper medical supervision, of course) they were promoted as rapidly as their mental development would warrant. Unless they are given the grade of work which calls forth their best efforts, they run the risk of falling into lifelong habits of submaximum efficiency. The danger in the case of such children is not over-pressure, but under-pressure (1916, p. 15).

In addition to the peculiar call for medical supervision in relation to the level of challenge to be applied to the gifted child, Terman's warning of the great danger of "submaximum efficiency" is noteworthy. Because the very intelligent are prone to languish in the classroom, mental testing is positioned as an absolute necessity in saving these superior beings from under-pressure, and preserving for our society the meritocratic leadership of Terman's eugenic hopes and dreams. He underscored that gifted children represent the political and academic leaders of the future and that the fate of the nation relies on their thriving. Submaximum efficiency could definitely present a problem.

Throughout this chapter, Terman (1916) emphasized that educators can't be trusted to accurately find such students. His revision of the Simon-Binet Intelligence Scales effectively positioned gifted children within a medicalized context: superior intelligence can only be properly identified by a scientific instrument. The ineffable quality of giftedness (which, in this text, he defined variously as "superior ability," "genius" or "near genius," pp. 53-57) was not discernable to ordinary people. Because

Terman believed intelligence was genetically conferred, school children contained within them biological components that determined their intellectual and professional destiny. Therefore, giftedness didn't just describe a student who needed to be challenged at a given point in time. Giftedness was constructed as a life-long diagnosis:

> It should be evident, however, that we need more than the ability merely to distinguish a genius from a simpleton, just as a physician needs something more than the ability to distinguish an athlete from a man dying of consumption. It is necessary to have a definite and accurate diagnosis, one which will differentiate more finely the many degrees and qualities of intelligence (p. 18).

Through this work and many subsequent publications, Terman seeded the figured landscape of gifted education with these understandings, including: giftedness can be hidden from plain sight; educators will never be able to know for sure what a child is capable of through simple observation; educators need an instrument to diagnose giftedness. In this figured landscape, mental tests are indispensable instruments for assessing the genetic potential of individual intelligence. The prevalence of tests like the CogAT in gifted education today (Callahan et al., 2017) illuminates the ways in which eugenic and hegemonic conceptions of intelligence as heritable and fixed are still thriving in U.S. schools.

Because Terman and his colleagues decentered teacher agency in making accurate judgements about the level of challenge that students need, he discursively forwarded an agenda based on power/knowledge. Terman's discourses on mental testing asserted that the production of knowledge of human potential and innate ability can only be accomplished through an objective instrument: a mental test. This calibrated tool

generates substantial currents of power as the producer of a rare form of knowledge accessible only through its application. Mental tests represent a dominating effect of power in their ability to supplant other forms of knowledge about human potential, such as observable moments of brilliance or creativity in the classroom. In the end, the mental test is the final authority and thus has the final say on whether or not a student is truly gifted (as opposed to only bright, or merely a hard worker). As the creator of the *Stanford Binet Intelligence Scales* (1916), Terman very intentionally positioned mental testing within the network of power/knowledge as the only true source by which authentic giftedness could be verified.

Terman (1925a) and his colleagues collected enormous amounts of data on the individuals in his *Genetic Studies of Genius,* including everything from family composition to medical history to favorite games, and their performance at school was a major focus for the investigators. One area concerned the grades that teachers assigned to Terman's subjects as compared to controls. Although he qualitatively defined giftedness through these data as "quick understanding, insatiable curiosity, extensive information, retentive memory, early speech, unusual vocabulary" (p. 287), he underscored the significance of his subjects' discrepancy from the norm using a technology he helped to elaborate: mental age, or the scale by which composite scores from the Stanford-Binet were indexed. Terman described that his gifted subjects had a 2.8 developmental lead in terms of mental age in first grade that accelerated to a five year developmental lead by 5th grade.

Terman's (1925a; Terman et al., 1926, 1930, 1947, 1959) expansive studies of gifted children relied heavily on the notion of age benchmarks to define giftedness. As

discussed earlier, this whole system of age benchmarking is so commonplace today that we may take for granted its socially constructed nature. Mental age represents another early 20th century technology of normalization, and specifically a technique that Foucault (1995) referred to as "disciplinary time." As described in Chapter 3, disciplinary time delineates the construction of a system in which ages, stages, and periods of time not only define what is normal, but demand the surveillance of its norms. The more narrowly we define what is acceptable at a particular age and in a particular stage, the more we can focalize giftedness as being aberrant from the expectations of disciplinary time. The disciplinary power expressed through Foucault's conception of disciplinary time positions power within a relational network, distributed throughout society. We are each responsible for adhering to the norms of disciplinary time and for surveilling each other for abnormalities. Mental age scales used in mental test data interpretation can be thought of as a technology for surveilling adherence to disciplinary time.

Foucault's (1995) history helps to reveal that Terman's (1925a) quantified system of mental age used to assert the "developmental lead" demonstrated by his gifted group via disciplinary time served a social purpose: to control and order students and to use stages and examinations to rank and qualify them for different levels of status in society. This is an important counter-perspective to the prevailing positivistic narrative that Terman's classificatory system for mental ages is a scientific discovery, rather than a social construction. An I.Q. test is often constructed as a scientific authority in our cultural models of giftedness, but in fact it is actually a social construction with a distinctively social purpose. Indeed, the notion of mental age as a form of disciplinary time shows how labeling children as gifted locates them in higher stages and thus

privileges them with greater societal power, positioning them for adult life in the upper levels of the social hierarchy. Terman and his colleagues infamously used mental tests not only to quantify the superior intellectual "age" of the gifted, but also to quantify the mental ages of the working class and impoverished, as well as Black, Brown and unwhite-white races (e.g., Italians) as essentially perpetual children (Lippmann, 1922) who should be denied basic human rights, such as the right to bear offspring.

Mental testing represents the shallowest stratum of the sociohistorical figured landscape of gifted education because so many in Greenfield seemed to be questioning its legitimacy. For example, Max challenged the authority of testing to identify giftedness when he shared that, "I think (tests) identify the ease at which some people process information. The quickness they have to process information comes out in the standardized tests. But I know we're leaving a whole lot behind" (Interview, December 11, 2020). Max sensed that human potential is a more complex construct than any test can reliably reveal. He clarified that tests can only point to a narrow set of attributes, such as the quickness with which a student processes information. But he went on to add: "When I think of performance giftedness, singing, dancing, we don't have any measurement tools for that artistically. There's so many pieces of it that we miss because we rely on the standardized testing." For Max, the potential for excellence could be located in many domains, but suggested that standardized tests have limitations that would make them irrelevant in more creative or complex areas, a view shared by other GPS educators. A standardized test for artistic potential would seem absurd.

Nonetheless, the salient power/knowledge of tests that can measure mysterious qualities such as "cognitive ability" continue to hold great sway over the nation's schools

because of the ways they dominate or supplant other forms of power/knowledge (e.g., the phronesis of experienced teachers of color). Because of the supremacy of scientized power/knowledges, the cold, distant, objectivity of tests place our democratic power/knowledges based on observation, relationship, connection and experience in a subordinated position. Terman's legacy of mental testing maintains the cultural model of giftedness as a diagnosis which requires an instrument.

Conclusion

Max, Mary, Thomas and I, as well other Greenfield educators, held (at different times and in different ways) cultural models of giftedness drawn from the sociohistorical figured landscape of gifted education. Greenfield Public Schools (and the authors of its Gifted and Talented webpages) materialized aspects of this cultural model through definitional statements of giftedness. This cultural model included beliefs that giftedness: represents exceptional ability within a narrow, normalized, hierarchical schema; is innate, inherited or born; is complicated by the influence of nature verses nurture debates; and is best diagnosed by mental tests which are more reliable than the subjective judgements of people. All of these components of a cultural model of giftedness have direct ties to the eugenic origins of gifted education and have survived decades of societal change relatively intact (though they were internalized in a variety of different ways inside of us). Although the field of gifted education has undergone its own evolutions and revolutions (or at least, minor paradigm shifts; Matthews & Foster, 2005), the contemporary discourses in many public schools and within the belief systems of many educators continue to preserve the original tenets of gifted education.

Throughout this study, Greenfield was in the process of racial equity transformation. The attitudes and beliefs of the GT Design Team members were constantly in flux and evolving. Their reflections on current and past beliefs destabilized their cultural models of giftedness. By the end of the fall, the GT Design Team members had arrived at an agreement: "We have a core belief in developing students' brilliance and strengths through a multitude of balanced opportunities" (GT Design Team Presentation, February 9, 2021). Although they had not developed a new collective definition for "giftedness," they had agreed that all students should have access to gifted education through enrichment programming; essentially, they decided to advocate to dismantle their gifted pull-out model, as well as gifted identification. Thomas, as the district administrator in charge, took this recommendation further by synthesizing a bold plan to completely detrack GT and AA programs in Greenfield Public Schools by the fall of 2021 (the subject of Chapter 6 in this dissertation).

I believe there are insights to be drawn from the ways in which the GT Design Team members grappled with the question, "What do we mean by 'gifted and talented'?" Many educators across the U.S. hold unexamined cultural models of giftedness, intelligence, ability, learning, and potential. If educators in the U.S. school system had not inherited a legacy of normalizing judgement and disciplinary time, would we think about children's gifts and potential differently? I believe that without the notion of universal stages of development for intellectual growth and change, giftedness as a diagnostic category would be easier to locate as a mechanism for maintaining hegemony and a stratified caste system. If we fully internalized Dewey's framework for democratic education and remapped our conception of diverse and pluralistic expressions of

intelligence within its boundaries, how might our schools, classrooms, lessons, and communities be organized, lived, experienced, and actualized?

Contemporary scholars and researchers suggest more dynamic understandings of learning and development. Critiques of stage developmentalism seek to disrupt the "linear, unidirectional, and time-bound conception of development" (Lee & Vagle, 2010, p. 5). For example, Lee (2010) criticized the continued dominance of developmentalism as "universal and identical to everyone across time and place" (p. 36). Lee described more current theories of development that express a "'bidirectional relation' between individuals and context" (p. 37). Citing Lerner (1998), he highlighted the paradigm shift in developmental theory that emphasizes "the role of contextual embeddedness and temporality in shaping the developmental trajectories of diverse individuals and groups" (p. 6). In other words, the outdated model of viewing individuals as passing through linear, timebound, concrete stages of development in "normal growth and change" *should be* supplanted by more sophisticated understandings of development: newer, systems-models of development describe a much more dynamic, pluralistic, and helical conceptualization of how children learn and change over time because they are networked into a complex and interactive environment.

Although this emerging philosophy and research suggests exciting futures for education (if eventually it is actualized), it ignores the entrenched structures of racial hegemony that define much of school life in the United States. Likewise, Deweyan philosophy has influenced the ethos of public education in the U.S., but it does not explicitly center the significance of white supremacy in our school systems. Throughout this chapter, I have intentionally set aside this essential analysis of racism in order to

excavate the layers of a cultural model of giftedness that surfaced in Greenfield Public Schools with ties to the eugenic origins of the figured landscape. This chapter has presented an explicit exploration of the *legacy* of white supremacy and hegemony that characterizes the emergence of gifted education. I leveraged the theories of Foucault (1980, 1990, 1995, 2004) explicitly for this purpose because as a historian, Foucault revealed the sophisticated ways in which power operates to perpetuate social injustice within this historical context.

I began this chapter by describing the context of the historically rooted question that surfaced in Greenfield the day after George Floyd was murdered. Despite my bracketing of an explicit analysis of racism in gifted education, the specter of deep systemic racism permeates this study just as the racial reckoning spurred by Floyd's murder permeated the GT Design Team's work throughout the 2020 to 2021 school year. Likewise, the international conversation around Floyd's murder forced an explicit discussion of history (i.e., often voiced through the oft repeated epithet "400 years of history" to refer to racial violence perpetrated against Black people in this country). I believe that the historical continuity of eugenic and race science ideologies in gifted education demand a similar reckoning. Gifted education shapes intersectional social injustices and inequities that encompass many layers of oppression, including classism, ableism, and linguistic discrimination. However, in a country founded on slavery and racial hegemony, race is the master category of oppression in the United States (Omi & Winant, 2015). This chapter serves as a foundation to more deeply explore the question of racism and racialization in gifted education through this sociohistorical lens and the figured world of Greenfield Public Schools, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

"Why Aren't Students of Color Already in Advanced and Gifted Classes?"

The Permanence of Racism

In the summer of 2020, a Greenfield administrator created a program for high school students who were interested in learning how to research social justice issues in the district. She hired (and paid) six high school students to work as research interns who produced an original study of their own design. The interns, four of whom were students of color, chose to investigate the overwhelming whiteness of their tracked, advanced high school courses. As one intern shared, "Because each of us had the opportunity to take at least one (advanced high school) course we have seen firsthand the lack of diversity in these courses" (Intern Presentation, September 14, 2020). Their research questions were, "How can we get more students of color into honors, AP, IB, and GT courses?" And, "Why aren't students of color already in these advanced classes?"

By the end of the summer and through the early fall, they were presenting their findings to district stakeholders and the community. I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to see their presentation to the school board. The interns hypothesized that factors influencing enrollment in these courses included the cultural relevance of the curricula and the lack of racial diversity among the predominantly white instructors teaching advanced courses. Drawing off their readings and lived experiences, they designed a survey and in-depth interview questions to explore their research questions. Ultimately, they were able to gather 320 survey responses from students in Greenfield Public Schools and conducted 52 follow-up interviews. Not only did their findings reveal that the majority of students of color in Greenfield felt discouraged from taking advanced

coursework, but also that there was a significant link between secondary enrollment in Advanced Academic courses and elementary identification for GT programming. As one intern described, "The GT program creates an exclusive bubble set aside for 'smart kids'" (Intern Presentation, September 14, 2020). Because this bubble contained a majority of white students, the effects were highly racialized.

This impressive research presentation not only highlighted the brilliance of the interns' collaborative capacity for sophisticated inquiry and the centering of student voice, but also the ways in which the GT program had created exclusive white spaces that perpetuated the system of white supremacy in Greenfield. When I witnessed this presentation, I was utterly blown away by the directness of their analysis. Whereas many adult educators and scholars often speak in coded language about racism in gifted education, the students were blunt: "If you see that the people selected for GT are either 100% white or 95% white… it sets a tone in the school that is going to be super discouraging to nonwhite kids. I think that's just common sense," one interviewee reported (Intern Presentation, September 14, 2020). The interns summarized that this was because "Black and Brown students do indeed receive lower expectations from teachers" to qualify for the GT program and later, to participate in advanced coursework.

Through their analysis, the student researchers could clearly trace the relationship between early identification of predominantly white students in Greenfield's GT program that ultimately led to: shifts in learner identity that produced a sense of superior intelligence among the predominantly white GT student population; access to more rigorous learning opportunities for predominantly white GT students; high expectations from teachers for white students and low expectations for students of color; and the

highly racialized nature of this process that positioned students of color as not belonging in "the exclusive gifted bubble." Students of color also revealed that they often dropped advanced courses due to racial isolation (i.e., being one of the only students of color in the room), feeling marginalized and ignored by teachers, and the whiteness of the curriculum. By the time they reached the secondary level, students of color had to overcome discouragement from predominantly white teachers to enroll in advanced classes, often because they had not participated in the accelerative learning opportunities provided by the GT program, especially in terms of math. One of the white interns shared that students in the predominantly white GT classes tended to stay together for the rest of their K-12 experience in advanced tracked classes. Students of color commented that in addition to being one the only Black or Brown people in the room, the white students seemed to have known each other for years and formed a tight, exclusive clique that only heightened their sense of isolation and Otherness.

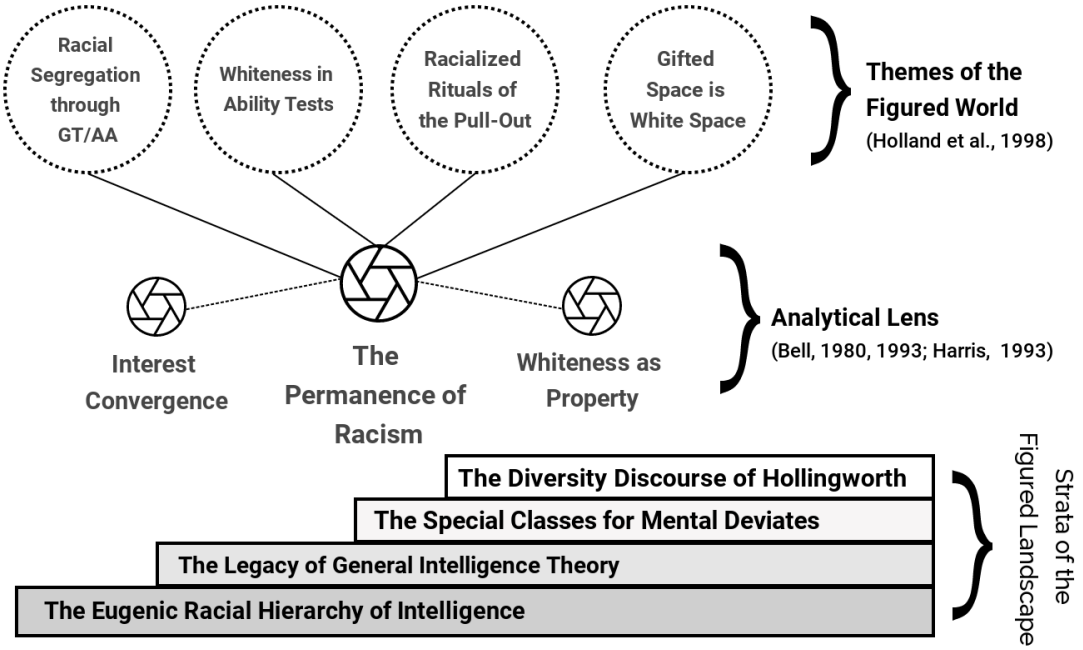
In this chapter, I have borrowed the interns' research question: "Why aren't students of color already in advanced and GT classes?" Drawing off their research presentation, I have repositioned this question in a sociohistorical context to provoke a history of the present. Their findings have been put in conversation with my historical research from the figured landscape of gifted education and ethnographic research of the figured world of the educators in Greenfield Public Schools. Many of the themes I discuss in this chapter relate to the established GT program that district and teacher leadership were seeking to disrupt during the time of my fieldwork. As Figure 4 illustrates, I have analyzed the historical continuities between present-day themes in Greenfield related to racism and racialization within the GT program through the lens of

Critical Race Theory (CRT). The permanence of racism (Bell, 1993) is the primary lens I used to bridge pasts-present and presents-past (Kleinberg et al., 2018). At times, I applied two bifocal lenses to the lens of the permanence of racism in my efforts to socio-historically interrogate the themes in Greenfield. Whiteness as property (Harris, 1993) draws attention to the distribution of tangible and intangible resources along racial lines by privileging predominantly white students through the GT program in Greenfield; interest convergence (Bell, 1980) helps to explain the motivations of both contemporary and historical actors within the diversity initiative in gifted education.

Specifically, I have related four ethnographic themes to four strata of the figured landscape of gifted education. These include: racial segregation through the GT program in Greenfield (and consequently its secondary advanced academics programs) and the historical theme of the eugenic racial hierarchy of intelligence in the figured landscape of gifted education. Finally, I have also examined two highly symbolic structures in Greenfield: the racialized rituals of the pull-out program used in GT and the establishment of separate spaces for "the gifted" as white spaces. To present the sociohistorical analysis of these structures, I have aligned Hollingworth's (1923, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939) original framing of the practices of gifted education through her work with "special opportunity" classes for "rapid learners" in the New York City schools of the 1920s and 30s. I have analyzed these historical continuities through my bifocal lenses (whiteness as property and interest convergence) in order to trace the permanence of racism functioning through gifted education.

Figure 4.

Excavated Themes of Chapter 5 Representing Historical Continuities between Figured Landscape and Figured World



This chapter is structured in the same manner as Chapter 4. I have begun by describing the qualitative themes depicted above, related each of them to a specific historical narrative, and provided an analysis of the historical continuity using theoretically lenses from CRT. I began by discussing the racial segregation that had occurred in Greenfield through their gifted education and advanced academic courses and programs; I related this theme to historical evidence concerning the racial hierarchy of intelligence as established by founders of gifted education (Terman, 1916, 1922a; Hollingworth, 1926). I explored the theme of whiteness in the ability tests used in GPS and linked these to the longstanding legacy of mental testing by racializing discourses related to universal conceptions of intelligence (i.e., general intelligence theory;

Spearman, 1904). I analyzed both of these themes in terms of Bell's (1993) theory of the permanence of racism. I then examined ethnographic evidence related to the theme, "racialized rituals of the GT pull-out," and explored the historical roots of educating students identified as gifted in separate, segregated spaces (Hollingworth, 1923, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939). I examined this theme and the corresponding historical narratives using Harris's (1993) theory of whiteness as property. Finally, I described findings related to the theme from GPS that "gifted spaces are white spaces," and put this in conversation with Hollingworth's discourses on diversity (Hollingworth & Witty, 1940), which I analyzed through the lens of interest convergence (Bell, 1980).

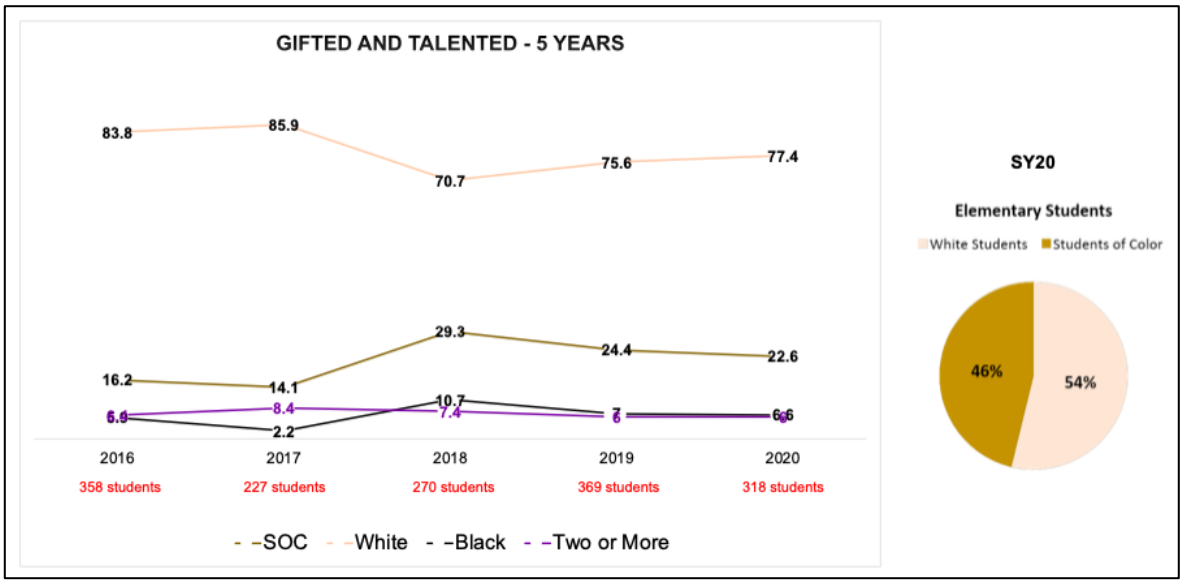
Racial Segregation through Gifted Education

As discussed in Chapter 4, Greenfield Public Schools used a combination of test scores to identify students for the gifted and talented program beginning in the second grade. According to my participants, the gifted identification protocol had been influenced by experts in gifted education (i.e., university professors who provided consultative services to districts concerned about the demographics of their identified gifted population); they had suggested specific assessments to increase identification of students of color. The CogAT was one such assessment which promised to close representation gaps in the GT program by providing a culturally-neutral and unbiased, yet statistically valid and reliable measure of "ability." Like the majority of school districts across the country, this assessment protocol failed to disrupt the overidentification of white students (Callahan et al., 2017; Hodges et al., 2018; Peters et al., 2019; Ricciardi et al., 2020; Yoon & Gentry, 2009). In a district where white students represented 54% of the total student population, between 70% and 85% of the total population identified for

GT were white (see Figure 5, below). Furthermore, Black students were particularly underrepresented, dropping to only 2.2% of the gifted group in 2017, whereas in the district they represented over 20% of the total student population. These results had been produced by various measures that were taken to *reduce* this overrepresentation of white students, a problem that had been in place for many years in Greenfield.

Figure 5.

Line Graph of GT Identified Students in Greenfield Over Time and Disaggregated by Race



Note: The topmost line shows white students represented up to 85.9% of identified GT students from 2016 to 2020, but only 54% of the general student population.

The specific identification protocols used in the district were complex and difficult to understand. There were several gifted programs through which identified students could receive services, including the general GT program, as well as a tracked math program which accelerated elementary students a year or more beyond the grade-level standards. At the secondary level, identified students could choose from a variety of

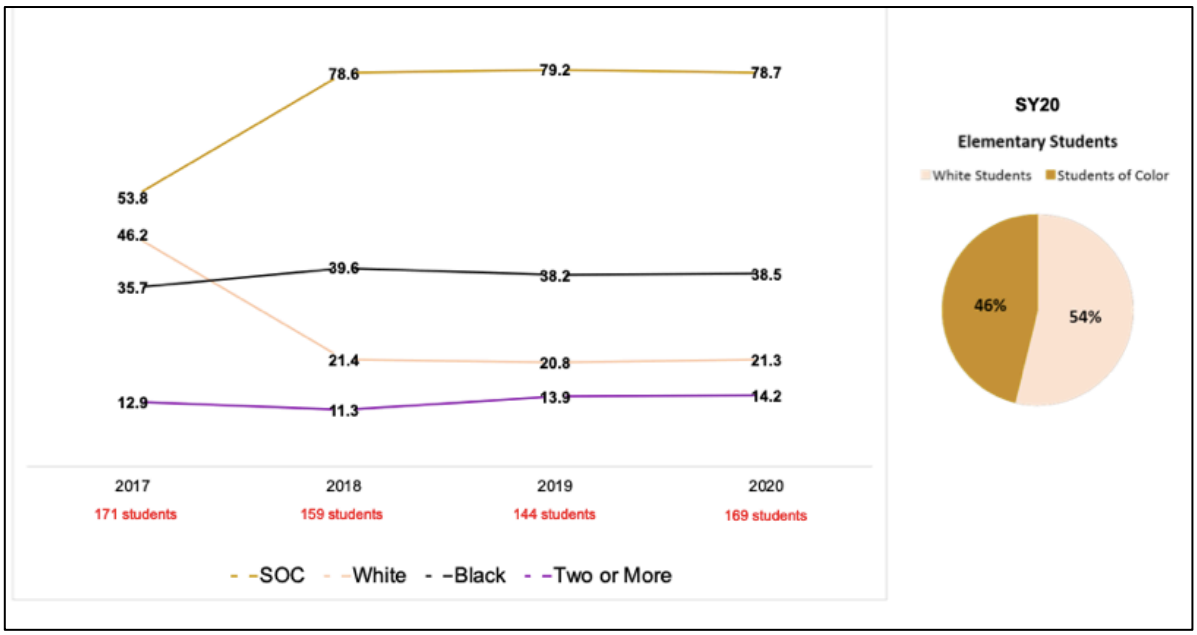
advanced coursework in combination with GT pull-out options. Students were identified as gifted at various levels of the system through strict cut scores on standardized assessments demarcated at the 95th (elementary) and 97th percentiles (secondary). Furthermore, students needed to demonstrate a history of performing at high levels on standardized tests, rather than a single good year of test taking. Additionally, students whose standardized test scores fell below the cut could be culled from the program, de-gifted, and returned to "regular education," which provoked a high level of anxiety among some students, according to my participants.

In Greenfield, the observation that "discourse on the gifted only occurs alongside an implied (or explicit) discourse on the nongifted" (Margolin, 1993, p. 511) was both evident and highly racialized. Because the district used a pull-out and tracked model for gifted and remedial education, the racialized results of the identification protocol were highly visible to students, teachers, parents, and other community members. Racial segregation through gifted and remedial programs was a long-standing practice in the district, and on any given (pre-pandemic) weekday during the school year, nearly all-white GT and advanced classes could be seen in segregated spaces in the school, contrasted with nearly all Black and Brown remedial pull-out groups (Fieldnotes, March 9, 2021). In Greenfield, predominantly Black and Brown elementary students with low test scores received remedial math and reading interventions through a distinctively named, grant-funded program I will simply call "Accelerate." Accelerate employed ten 1.0 full-time educator (FTE) positions to support these services across several elementary school buildings and had been in place for 10 years by the time I had begun my study. Yet in all that time of pulling predominantly Black and Brown students out for

remediation, there had been minimal (if any) significant improvement or closing of the racial achievement gap and a stubborn overrepresentation of students of color (see Figure 6, below).

Figure 6.

Line Graph of Remedial K-5 Accelerate Students in Greenfield Over Time and Disaggregated by Race



Note: The topmost line shows all students of color in the remedial K-5 program as >78% from 2018 to 2020, whereas 46% students of color are represented in the general population.

The Eugenic Racial Hierarchy of Intelligence

Greenfield was not alone in its use of standardized assessments to delineate these groups for tracked academic instruction, nor in the ways in which the re-segregation of diverse, integrated schools was enabled through these structures (Francis & Darity, 2021; Ford, 2014; McCardle, 2020; Oakes, 1995; Tyson, 2013). Across the United States and as

far back as survey data exist, U.S. public schools have under-identified Black and Brown[18] students for gifted education and over-identified them for remedial and special education services (Ferri & Connor, 2005; Ford & King, 2014; Peters et al., 2019). From the very beginning, Terman (1916), Leta Hollingworth (1926), and other founders of the field overwhelmingly identified white people as having the highest I.Q. scores and thus, the most consolidated "germ plasm" (Van Wagner, 1912) conferring the genetic propensity for giftedness. Terman not only identified an almost entirely white sample for his *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Terman, 1925a; Terman et al., 1926, 1930, 1947, 1959), but also made explicit statements in multiple publications regarding the racial inferiority of people of color in terms of intelligence and giftedness.

Describing his classifications system for the Stanford Binet I.Q. assessment, Terman (1916) presented a racial hierarchy of intelligence. For example, regarding the classification of "dull normal" intelligence (i.e., I.Q. scores from 80-90) he wrote, "The unmistakably normal children who go much below this (in California, at least) are usually Mexicans, Indians, or negroes." And infamously, referring to another low level category of intelligence, he described,

> The fact that one meets this type with such extraordinary frequency among Indians, Mexicans, and negroes suggests quite forcibly that the whole question of racial differences in mental traits will have to be taken up anew and by experimental methods. The writer predicts that when this is done there will be

[18] The exception is sometimes Asian-American students. However, this is a complex phenomenon and beyond the scope of this dissertation. See Yoon & Gentry, 2009, and Chhuon & Sullivan, 2013, for a detailed discussion.

> discovered enormously significant racial differences in general intelligence, differences which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture (p. 52).

Terman's eugenic goals can be discerned in his assertion not only that people of color are intellectually inferior, but also that intelligence research should focus on proving this belief. This statement has been quoted often (e.g., Beadie et al., 2017; Chávez-García, 2007; Franklin, 2007; Skiba, 2012) as evidence that Terman and his eugenic colleagues were deeply implicated in the production of scientific racism and eugenic policies in the early decades of the twentieth century. Yet it is drawn from his technical manual on the Stanford Binet and likely would not have been read by people outside of academia or education. But Terman was also determined to spread his message of racial inferiority to the general public. In his many newspaper articles, Terman vehemently asserted the intellectual inferiority of people of color, spreading his gospel across the nation with the authority of an anointed expert on intelligence. For example, in 1922, Terman published the following statement in *The World's Work*, which was reprinted in regional newspapers:

> A decade ago the majority of anthropologists and psychologists flouted the idea that there are any considerable differences in the native mental capacities of races or nationality groups. Today we have overwhelming evidence that they were mistaken. Army mental tests have shown that not more than 15 per cent of American negroes equal or exceed in intelligence the average of our white population, and that the intelligence of the average negro is vastly inferior to that of the average white man (1922a, para. 1).

Thus, from the very beginning, the discourse on the gifted and non-gifted was premised most starkly on Black inferiority, positioning Black people as the most subordinate in terms of intelligence compared to whites. Terman's "overwhelming evidence" (i.e., the intelligence tests that he and his colleagues forged themselves out of their privileged white worldview) asserted the supposedly scientific nature of this "discovery." Terman underscored the ignorance of past scientists who lacked adequate instrumentation to realize such an essential truth. He asserted his expertise in setting the record straight and in this same article, went on to elaborate this point by associating other marginalized racial and ethnic groups on a spectrum of racial inferiority:

> The available data indicate that the average mulatto occupies about a mid-position between pure negro and pure white. The intelligence of the American Indian has also been over-rated, for mental tests indicate that it is not greatly superior to that of the average negro. Our Mexican population, which is largely of Indian extraction makes little if any better showing. The immigrants who have recently come to us in such large numbers from Southern and Southeastern Europe are distinctly inferior mentally to the Nordic and Alpine strains we have received from Scandinavia, Germany, Great Britain, and France (para. 2).

In his interpretation, Black people with a higher level of intelligence are multiracial with white ancestry (i.e., referenced by the term "mulatto"); their intelligence is a result of white blood and its superior genes. Indigenous people are placed essentially at the same level as Black people in the racial intelligence hierarchy, and Mexicans, by way of their association with Indian blood, are likewise located in the bottom rungs. He also asserted the inferior intelligence of unwhite whites (i.e., people from "Southern and Southeastern

Europe"), who represented a significant target of eugenic immigration policy. These whites were subordinate to the most highly born whites, those from "Nordic and Alpine strains," but are positioned above people of color in Terman's hierarchy. As this excerpt illustrates, Terman deftly weaponized his own psychometric innovations, the Army Alpha and Stanford Binet I.Q. tests (i.e., "available data"), to spread the scientized message of eugenic ideology and white supremacy to the general public. Greenfield's use of the CogAT and the strict cut scores demarcating the gifted from the nongifted produced the same demographic results that Terman (1916) achieved in the early part of the 20th century. Although Terman's explicit discourses on racial inferiority would never be affirmed by the contemporary actors in Greenfield's educational workforce, the same racializing effects of testing to delineate the gifted from the nongifted were present. Tests of intellectual ability, weaponized in this way to categorize the intelligent from the unintelligent along racial lines, are tools leveraged to sustain the permanence of racism.

The Permanence of Racism

In CRT the permanence of racism is a perennial theme (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The racial realist Derrick Bell (1991) described the permanence of racism as "racism (that) has been internalized and institutionalized to the point of being an essential and inherently functioning component of that society - a culture from whose inception racial discrimination has been a regulating force for maintaining stability and growth" (p. 88). From the era of Lewis Madison Terman to the present day, the overrepresentation of whites in gifted education is a vivid example of Bell's assertion. By tracing this historical continuity, it becomes clear that intelligence was once framed in explicit and starkly racist terms. Many contemporary white readers would publicly denounce Terman's

(1922a) racial hierarchy of intelligence because it is no longer acceptable (in many communities) to speak this way or claim these beliefs. However, many whites are more than willing to tolerate ongoing racial segregation perpetuated through gifted and remedial programs in public education as evinced by their general inaction, as well as explicit efforts leveraged by white parents to prevent detracking (e.g., Bazzaz, 2019). In Greenfield, it was tolerated for years. In the majority of school districts across the country, whose teaching and administrative staff are overwhelmingly white (NCES, 2020) and whose gifted education programs are the same (Peters et al., 2019), many whites appear to be complacent and passively willing to accept this state of affairs.

Terman (1916, 1922a) and his eugenic colleagues created a scientized foundation for white internalization of the intellectual inferiority of people of color. It is through white action as well as *in*action that one can discern this feature of the permanence of racism as it manifests in public education. The white apathy (Saad, 2020) among public school employees and community stakeholders evinced through the majority of inaction to disrupt segregating systems of gifted and remedial education reveals this deep systemic and cultural internalization within the figured world of GPS. Even when Greenfield teachers tried to disrupt the segregating effects of the gifted program within their own classroom, they were faced with overwhelming opposition and administrative checkmates. Sarah and Mary worked together to establish an inclusive, co-teaching model for gifted education. They developed whole-class lessons that gave all students access to pedagogies used in the GT program, such as critical thinking and creative problem solving, but were told by administrators and other teachers that their co-teaching model could not be scaled because other educators didn't have the time, capacity or

resources to implement such an approach (Interview, January 13, 2021). White resistance to desegregation manifested as apathy, unwillingness to change, and insistence that teachers did not have the capacity to meet the needs of all students. Small-scale attempts at disruption by individual teachers, though noteworthy, did not unsettle the permanence of racism and racial segregation through gifted and remedial programs in Greenfield at the systems-level.

Whiteness in Ability Testing

Before the CogAT became the official ability test for gifted identification in Greenfield, the district used the purportedly culturally unbiased Naglieri Nonverbal Ability Test (NNAT) (Interview, December 11, 2020). This was administered universally to all students in second grade, a practice recommended by gifted education scholars for ensuring greater equity in gifted identification (Morgan, 2020). As one teacher told me, "We gave the Naglieri to every student… even back then we were trying to figure out how to make our pool of (GT) students more diverse." (Interview, December 11, 2020). When I worked as a GT teacher, one of the tasks I was asked to take on was the administration of testing for gifted identification at my school, which included the purportedly culturally unbiased Naglieri Nonverbal Ability Test (NNAT). From my perspective, it was a strange assessment: students interpreted patterns in geometric shapes in a multiple choice format that arranged items in four batteries: pattern completion, reasoning by analogy, serial reasoning, and spatial visualization (for examples of items within these batteries, see Naglieri, 2003).

In my experience with the test, there were no obvious signs of specific cultural bias among the half-shaded triangles, circles within squares, geometric translations,

rotations, reflections, and so forth. But even as a young teacher with no training in psychometrics, it was obvious that such a test was measuring a certain kind of thinking in a very narrow way. As a new GT teacher who believed in the strain of gifted education I had been trained in (the Schoolwide Enrichment Model; Renzulli & Reis, 1997), I thought of giftedness through the lens of interest-based and domain-specific talents (i.e., verbal, performative, creative/artistic, analytical, technological, social/relational, etc.). The use of this test to identify "giftedness" seemed not only strange, but problematic. Yet because it was presented to me as a culturally unbiased tool for equity, I didn't question it with much urgency. Some of my participants in Greenfield also affirmed that the NNAT and/or CogAT seemed to represent a tool for equity in Greenfield's GT identification process as well.

The Legacy of General Intelligence Theory

As I hope to have established at this point, there has been a long legacy of mental testing at the heart of gifted education, and though these tests have undergone many changes over time, they have retained the claim of cultural neutrality and authority: intellectual ability tests now, as in the early part of the 20th century, rely on their scientific merit as reliable, valid, and objective instruments. Their marketers and champions assert the scientific legitimacy of intellectual ability tests that have demonstrated sufficient statistical support. Although the marketing propaganda around tests like the CogAT and NNAT has become increasingly equity-centric, they still forward a culturally neutral, universal construct of intelligence. Naglieri (2003) asserted that the NNAT is both culturally neutral and a measure of "general ability" (p. 178). The construct of general ability, often called "*g* factor," or simply *g* (Jensen, 1998) represents

the theory based on correlational statistics from intelligence tests that the manifestation of specific intelligences are driven by a quantifiable and overarching source of "general intelligence." In other words, while intelligence is observed through many individual processes, *g* combines them all into a consolidated construct of intelligence as "the general ability to reason and think abstractly" (Warne, 2016, p. 4).

David Lohman (2005) is the creator of the CogAT, the ability assessment used in Greenfield for GT identification around the time I was conducting my study. In his scholarly writing, Lohman engages a more multifaceted discussion of *g,* and directly critiques the disadvantages of nonverbal assessments like the NNAT. Lohman's opinion is that the subdomains of *g* are equally important (e.g., verbal ability), but is no less emphatic about the significance of *g* and its utility as a construct in mental tests. Yet Lohman (like Naglieri, 2003) fails to deeply engage the cultural, hegemonic and oppressive conditions under which students from systemically marginalized populations experience learning in U.S. schools, nor the ways in which performative tasks on assessments are cognized by different bodies, hearts and minds of culture. Some intelligence theorists and psychometricians have claimed that environmental influences on disproportionate performances on I.Q. assessments between Black people and white people are too minute to matter[19] (Jensen, 1980; Warne, 2016a). However, scholars of color have long argued that the differences between their cultural ways of knowing and being and the ways of whiteness are worlds apart, and that standardized ability tests are constructed based on white culture (Franklin, 2007).

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[19] Specifically, Jensen's (1980) tome *Bias in Mental Testing* asserts that intelligence tests are not biased against people who were born in America with English as a first language, regardless of race, class, or other conditions of oppression or privilege.

Whiteness poses as universal truth, something that is evident in the generalized, culture-free models of general intelligence measured through ability tests. For example, Lohman (2005) wrote,

> Academic giftedness is best understood in terms of aptitude to acquire the knowledge and skills taught in schools that lead to forms of expertise that are valued by a society. We are interested in ability tests only because they help identify those who may someday become excellent engineers, scientists, writers, and so forth (p. 336).

Lohman's phrase, "aptitude to acquire knowledge and skills" seems to refer to some fundamental essence in a human being that exists in a vacuum, unaffected by conditions of racial hegemony and oppression in the United States. Lohman failed to acknowledge that aptitude and ability are culturally mediated by many complex factors (Rogoff, 2003). He ignored *whose* values are centered in the "forms of expertise" he referred to and that the "likelihood of success" is deeply rooted in societal conditions of varying degrees of privilege and oppression. Further, Lohman argued that ability tests predict who will be successful in life; this is the same argument eugenic scholars and proponents of the efficiency model forwarded in the early decades of the 20th century. His examples of elite jobs, such as "engineers, scientists and writers" index meritocracy and devalue the intelligence required in trades and humanitarian professions. These kinds of jobs represent white, middle-to upper-class, neoliberal values. In fact, as data from his own test has shown, it is the most privileged whites who are predominantly identified through the CogAT, as is the case with ability tests generally (Carman & Taylor, 2010; Carman et al., 2018; Giessman et al., 2013; Peters & Engerrand, 2016).

Like the concept of "*g*" itself, the present-day measurement of academic ability ignores the role of culture, oppression, and racial violence that affect performances of intellectual ability, as well as the kinds of knowledges and skills that are highly valued (and thus developed) in nonwhite cultures. Although he seems incapable of recognizing or naming it, when Lohman (2005) referred to "expertise valued by a society" (p. 336) he meant the culture of whiteness and capitalism. He did not mean the expertise valued by Potawatomi, Inuit, or Ojibwe sovereign nations living in reservation communities; Black Americans in Appalachia or Detroit; Hmong Americans in Saint Paul; or Somali Americans in Maine. Lohman argued for including quantitative and verbal batteries in intellectual ability tests in order to more accurately predict abilities as aptitudes, that is, predictions of likelihood of success within specific school subjects. His logic follows that "minority students" (p. 333) are more likely to be identified through this focus on aptitude, while completely disregarding the knowledges and skills valued within the communities of such "minority students." And while Naglieri (2003) took a different stance on the types of items that are most likely to reduce cultural load, he was likewise emphatic about the universality of ability, perhaps even more so since his arguments for nonverbal ability assessments have relied exclusively on the construct of *g*.

The British psychologist Charles Spearman (1904), with support from various colleagues, is often credited with establishing the evidentiary foundation for *g* (Jenson, 1980). In a 1911 publication, Hart and Spearman presented their statistical argument for general intelligence through a large sample of mental tests that included batteries for mathematical judgment, controlled association, literary interpretation, selective judgement and spelling. These learned domains and their correlational statistics seemed

to support their argument for general intelligence as "a general common factor" (p. 52) responsible for all intellectual ability. For Hart and Spearman, their purpose in forwarding this argument seems purely rhetorical; They were frustrated by divergent theories of intelligence that were muddying the waters of intelligence research. They believed,

> This sharp divergence between… current views appears to be of grave importance. It bars the way to all interpretation of our laboriously accumulated data. It confuses all theory as to the intellectual 'make-up' of individuals. And it paralyzes our practical power of gauging the intelligence of persons, both normal and insane (p. 53).

In short, without *g*, the construct of intelligence is theorized in too many complex and contradictory ways and thus, too difficult to measure. This practical argument also undergirded an assumption of the universality of intelligence: that is, there is one, general, overarching source of intelligence that drives all other subdomains of intelligences to greater or lesser degrees. While Spearman's model of intelligence was a two-factor structure (including both general and specific forms of intelligence) his assertion was that, "Every performance depends partly on some *common fund of energy*. This, then, is the required General Factor" (p. 79). This general factor, *g*, can drive all sorts of "abilities" in many domains: verbal, quantitative, analytical, spatial, etc. For Hart and Spearman (1912), the utilities of *g* were many, such as their idea that by leveraging *g* in research "even the influence of heredity would become much more accessible to study," (p. 78), a concept which was actualized by American eugenic intelligence researchers like Lewis Terman. Hart and Spearman even hoped for, "the day when there

will be yearly official registration of the 'intellective index'… of every child throughout the kingdom" (p. 78).

It is unsurprising that Spearman (1904; Hart & Spearman, 1912), like Terman (1916) and Galton (1869/1922), never considered the role of culture in this model of intelligence. The idea that their conception of intelligence was sourced from whiteness would likely have seemed absurd and certainly "unscientific" to Spearman and his colleagues. What is surprising, however, is the durability of *g*[20]. Even today, in districts like Greenfield, the shadow of *g* continues to dominate GT identification processes. The use of the CogAT and NNAT in the local history of gifted identification within Greenfield secured the presence of *g* for many years. Children identified through these tests were constructed as demonstrating a "common fund of energy" (Hart & Spearman, p. 79) from which their academic gifts originated. Discursively, *g* is implied in GT because "giftedness" (a vague and generalized concept in and of itself) seems to index this mysterious fund of intelligence. Although the CogAT assesses three domains of intelligence as aptitudes, it also provides a proxy for *g* via the composite score. The NNAT explicitly measures *g,* as asserted by Naglieri (2003) in his defense of nonverbal ability tests.

But in terms of face validity, both the NNAT and CogAT obviously assess learned domains as opposed to some abstract general fund of intellectual energy. For example, the CogAT tests knowledge of vocabulary and the ability to count, add, subtract, and reason with numbers. Even the NNAT, with its culturally neutral shapes and

[20] Intelligence researchers and psychometricians will agree that research and theory related to *g* have evolved over time. See Sternberg et al., 2003. Nonetheless, general intelligence continues to be a driving force behind much of the contemporary intelligence research, whether or not it is theorized to be composed of one, two, three or more factors.

spatial analogies, centers geometric knowledge and skills that none are simply born knowing (e.g., translations, rotations, etc.). These skills are learned and thus reflect learning experiences, not some innate general factor of intelligence. Isn't it possible that if we have interacted more with shapes and spatial reasoning and if these were highly valued mental skills in our culture to which we had been exposed and tutored from infancy, we would perform fairly well on such tasks (for example, see Stern, 1999)? And all of this is to say nothing of stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995), linguistic factors (Robinson, 2010), and social-emotional experiences of the assessment performance itself (i.e., how we think, feel, and behave when given a test; see Curry et al., 2008).

Ability Tests, G and the Permanence of Racism

Tests of mental ability uphold the permanence of racism (Bell, 1993) in gifted education, and in particular, through the underlying construct of *g*. By rendering intelligence as a fixed, immutable, universal construct, the concept of intelligence itself becomes a technology of white supremacy. Psychometricians who develop and study intelligence tests create circular logic and infinite loops; they develop suppositions related to a universal construct of intelligence (supposedly applicable to all cultures), innovate intelligence tests based on these suppositions, and then collect data through the intelligence tests they designed to prove their suppositions. It would appear that few (if any) intelligence test designers deeply question the culturally-mediated complexities of human intelligence outside of the hegemonic cultural reasoning of whiteness. Such reasoning centers a white norm through the kinds of "thinking" that are valued in whiteness (e.g., having a large vocabulary, reasoning with numbers, thinking

analogically). More complex, multifaceted and divergent theories of intelligence, as Hart and Spearman (1912) argued, would be too difficult to measure. Measurement is the master's tool (Lorde, 2018) that holds the construct of intelligence hostage. Even famous researchers such as Gardner (1983), with his popular theory of multiple intelligences, failed to disrupt the supremacy of *g*-oriented intelligence/ability testing in gifted identification.

One of the ways we can clearly discern the cultural norms of whiteness embedded in ability tests is simply that white students achieve higher scores on average as compared to people of color (Carman et al., 2018; Geissman et al. 2013); students of color and non-native English speakers perform on average below whites on the NNAT and the CogAT (Peters & Engerrand, 2016). Even though these assessments are marketed as culturally unbiased tools for achieving equity in GT, they are not. The assumption of the white, dominant cultural norms of intelligence is evident in such tests in the same ways they are evident in the curricula of most schools (Allen, 1999; Peters, 2015; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). Tests of mental ability will always forward some aspect of culture because human beings are cultural beings (Ogbu, 2002). From the culturally-loaded vocabulary items and images on the CogAT to the spatial reasoning of the NNAT, culture is present.

Whiteness assumes that its epistemology and ontology are *the* most fundamental and true worldview; and thus, it concludes that it can speak for all people (Frankenberg, 1997; Gillborn, 2005; Morris, 2016; Sue, 2006). Whiteness considers itself culturally neutral and the standard or norm against which all others are compared (Ahmed, 2007; Leonardo 2002, 2004; McWhorter, 2005). Whiteness, which is at the root of *g*, upholds

the permanence of racism by asserting that there can be one overarching construct of intelligence, and that intelligence itself is culturally neutral. *G* functions covertly and overtly through ability tests to operationalize the white norm of intelligence. It "bars the way" (Hart & Spearman, 1912, p. 53) to develop and operationalize much more sophisticated, fluid, and socio-culturally relevant constructs of intelligence; it "confuses all theory as to the intellectual 'make-up'" of diverse bodies, minds, and hearts of culture with proliferative capacities for developing and expressing multiplicities of intelligences in unique ways; and it "paralyzes our practical power" of dismantling racist epistemologies and practices functioning through gifted education. In the figured world of Greenfield, as in other districts, the longstanding use of such assessments has served the permanence of racism through GT identification.

A Special Space just for GT Kids

Prior to Greenfield Public Schools' push to dismantle the GT program that began in 2019, classrooms at the elementary level were regularly interrupted to pull out groups of predominantly Black and Brown students for remediation and predominantly white groups for gifted education. In Greenfield, the pull-out model produced a highly visible form of racialization, and in particular through the daily performances of the "pulling out," which represented significant rituals of non/belonging in the figured world of Greenfield. Students noticed it: As one high school student described to the interns, remembering her elementary school years, "They used to come into the classroom and list off the kids who were going to GT and the other kids would kind of sit and look around like, 'What's going on here?" (Intern Presentation, September 14, 2020). The predominantly white students in that moment were marked as *special*. From a teacher's

perspective, Sarah, described coming to consciously recognize the highly racializing nature of these pull-out moments:

> It goes back to 15 years of, like, just being a classroom teacher and watching the revolving door of who is in the space of the classroom and who is not. And then looking at, like, what does that actually mean? Like, who has full belonging in the classroom and who doesn't? Or who is made to feel that they don't belong? When I racialized that, I looked at, like, when the gifted and talented teacher shows up at the door and calls the six names of the kids who are going to go with her for the next hour. It's almost exclusively white kids. And then when I look at the flip side of that, when reading intervention shows up or (remedial) services: it's students of color. So, it really had an impact on me and I believe on students. Like, what are we internalizing about who belongs, and where they don't (Interview, January 13, 2021)?

While students noticed these pull-out performances and wondered, "What is going on here?", Sarah came to see directly that these moments signaled significant expressions of belonging. A handful of white students belonged in a special, separate, "elite bubble," and being pulled out was a demarcation of status, whereas many Black and Brown students belonged in a space for the nongifted and were being pulled out in order to be corrected and brought into the norm of grade-level performance on an infinite treadmill that failed to produce its own goals. Furthermore, as a second grade teacher, Sarah saw that her complicity in this project signaled to students, *you do not belong here in this classroom I have created for you. At least not at this time, not in math, not in reading, not in the sense of this space supporting you for the next hour or so.*

In this way, Sarah came to see the pull-out as the cultural means (Holland et al, 1998) by which belonging was communicated in the figured world of Greenfield. In Sarah's efforts to develop her critical consciousness and racialize her perception of the pull-out programs, she claimed accountability for this process and began asserting her agency to disrupt the system. Sarah also became aware of the ways in which the removal of predominantly white students for GT marked them as special. For example, Sarah described how one newly identified white second grader showed up in her classroom ready to be pulled out with "the special kids." Because at the time Sarah and Mary were innovating an inclusive, co-teaching approach to replace the traditional GT model, they were no longer providing the GT pull-out. Sarah had to inform the student that she would not be going to the "special group." Deeply disappointed, the student protested, "But I'm special. The letter told me I'm special" (Interview, January 13, 2021), referring to the GT identification letter sent home to her parents. Sarah saw that students who were identified for GT understood the pull-out program to represent a special, separate space set aside just for special kids; they would be whisked off to a special place where they would experience fun and interesting activities.

In fact, the special, separate location for gifted students is an artifact of the early days of the eugenics-informed efficiency model of education. As I have established, "the gifted" were understood to be primarily supplied by white Anglo-Saxon and Nordic stock, and thus, the predominance of white students in the GT pullout at Greenfield likewise signals a historical continuity with eugenic ideologies. Eugenic scholars and educational leaders advocated that school resources should be deployed in accordance with the predicted potential of individuals (i.e., to be low-skilled laborers, white collar

workers, or the ruling class in a capitalist society) (Kliebard, 2004). The eugenic belief that "the gifted" should be educated in separate spaces, away from the mediocre majority and, especially, "slow learners" was devloped in the Speyer School, one of the first programs for gifted education in the United States. To explore these sociohistorical roots, I have turned to the work of the eugenic mother of gifted education and co-founder of the Speyer School, Leta Hollingworth.

The Story of the Special Classes for Mental Deviates

Leta Hollingworth was a "pioneer[21]" (Cattell et al., 1975; Miller, 1990; Silverman, 1989) in establishing the curricular and instructional practices of gifted education, which she accomplished by founding experimental programs in the New York City public school system. In the 1920s, she established a partnership with Public School 165 in Manhattan, where she created experimental classes for gifted students (Hollingworth, 1940). She continued to study these identified students from 1922 until 1935, at which point she received an opportunity to start an experimental school in a building owned by Teacher's College at Columbia University. The school would separate "rapid learners" from "slow learners" for full-time instruction under the same roof. After securing support from the New York City Board of Education (NYCBOE), who were apparently eager to implement experiments in separating out students for remedial and gifted programs based on I.Q. test scores after a city-wide reorganization in 1934 (Greenberg, 1941), Hollingworth and her colleagues at Columbia University opened the Speyer School in 1936 (Hollingworth, 1940).

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[21] I quote this term, which is often applied to Hollingworth, because of its irony from an antiracist and anticolonial perspective.

Much of Hollingworth's (1926, 2019; Hollingworth & Monahan, 1926; Hollingworth & Cobb, 1928) research was oriented around mental testing and as such, her contributions to the development of early gifted programs centered the Stanford-Binet I.Q. assessment as the criterion of admission. She delineated strict cut scores to identify the gifted; a 130 I.Q. minimum (i.e., top 1%) was required to get into the special opportunity programs. Then as now, such standardized assessments favored the most privileged in society and predicted the lowest intelligence among the most marginalized, including those Polish-, Irish-, and Italian-American children who were positioned at a lower level on the racialized intelligence spectrum (Terman, 1916, 1922a). Hollingworth described that "the selection of Italians received in this country has yielded very few gifted children" (p. 71), as if to imply that perhaps Italians as a whole may genetically produce a greater degree of gifted children, but those aren't the ones coming to the United States. Her allegiance to eugenic immigration ideology and policy was often demonstrated through her musings on the inferiority of Mediterranean and Eastern Europeans. Hollingworth's (1926) rhetoric concerning Black children was even more racist:

> Several surveys have been made to test the mentality of negro children. These surveys unexceptionally show a low average of intellect among children having negro blood. Comparatively few of these children are found within the range which includes the best one per cent of white children. It is, however, possible by prolonged search to find an occasional negro or mulatto child testing above 130 I.Q. (p. 70).

Hollingworth affirmed the intellectual inferiority of Black people, but nonetheless suggested that there are, indeed, a scant few gifted Black students. However, these students were extremely rare and identification would require a "prolonged" search; gifted Black students existed, but they were needles in the haystack of all testable pupils. She went on to describe a family of "mulatto" children who were exceptionally intelligent with I.Q. scores up to 170. In this piece, published at perhaps the height of eugenic fervor in the U.S., "mulatto" (p. 70) indexed white genes, echoing Terman's (1922a) assertion that giftedness among Black people may only be the result of the intermixture of white blood.

To Hollingworth (1926), the identification of gifted children was a simple matter. Although a few students of color and *un*white whites could be tolerated, the majority of gifted students would be white and affluent:

> In the United States it has been found that negro children furnish relatively few of the gifted, and that children of Italian parentage furnish nearly as few. American children of English, Scotch, and Jewish descent seem especially frequent among the very gifted.
>
> To find most easily and quickly a group of gifted children, one should go to a private school, or to a public school in an excellent residential section of a city, and ask for children who are young for their classes, and whose fathers are professional men" (p. 75).

Hollingworth racialized students for gifted groups in eugenic terms: They come from the upper echelons of the racial hierarchy that defined the American Eugenics Movement (yet, in this case, she eschewed the anti-Semitism that typified many eugenic race

hierarchies by including Jewish children among the "very gifted"). Further, because eugenics was grounded in meritocracy, the assumption was also that "professional men" attained those good paying jobs through virtue of their innate and genetically conferred intelligence and superior character, not as a function of inherited wealth and social capital or unearned privilege in a deeply racist and classist, settler-colonial social system. Additionally, the use of mental testing furnished the "proof" of this reality. Like Terman and other eugenic psychologists of the day, Hollingworth positioned the I.Q. test as the scientific instrument that could cut through human subjectivity and definitively diagnose not only human potential in general, but specific genetic implications of human intelligence related to race. Hollingworth operated out of these foundational eugenic ideologies in her work with some of the first special programs for the gifted.

But Hollingworth was not the first to establish such experimental programs in U.S. public schools. By the 1920s, the "efficiency" model of education was already in full swing (Kliebard, 2004). Drawn from industry and burgeoning systems to improve worker productivity, the efficiency model sought to "eliminate waste" in the public education system by determining which students were the most and least educable. This approach encouraged school districts to provide differentiated curricular tracks based on predicted future outcomes, which were measured "scientifically" by, of course, mental tests. Thus, by the 1920s, many schools were experimenting with different approaches to curriculum tracking based on I.Q. scores or other measures (McCardle, 2020). The Speyer School was established to "experiment with a program of education for two types of mental deviates: the below normal—75-90 I.Q. (Stanford-Binet Test), and the intellectually gifted children—130 or above I.Q. (Stanford-Binet Test)" (Greenberg,

1941, p. 4). From a contemporary perspective, the phrase "mental deviates" seems like a reference to criminality or psychopathy. In Hollingworth's era, it actually referred to students who fall outside the norm of the standardized, age benchmarking system of I.Q. assessments on either end of the spectrum. Although she recruited students from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds (an issue I have addressed later in this chapter), the majority of students in her gifted cohort appear to have been white[22].

From the very beginning, the special classes for the mental deviates at the Speyer School were defined by opposing polls on a spectrum of assessed mental ability. The low-scoring students were put into classes for "slow learners," while the high scoring students were assigned to the "rapid learner" classes. The curriculum for slow learners was informal and centered on "activities involving a great deal of looking and seeing, talking about things, handling things, making things, demonstrating things and a minimum of reading and writing" (Featherstone, 1941, p. 13). Although some remedial reading instruction was offered, slow learners were not expected to learn to read: "[T]he general program was not one which made reading indispensable as a means of learning…it was assumed that Public School 500 (Speyer School) was not to be primarily a reading school" p. 67.) Rapid learners engaged in specialized, student-centered inquiry projects organized around a rigorous, enriched curriculum entitled "The Evolution of Common Things" (Hollingworth, 1937, p. 6); worked on self-paced, independent

[22] I searched vigorously for exact race demographics for the Speyer School, but came up short. The final report on the school (Bruner & Pritchard, 1941) lists varying ethnicities of students recruited for the rapid learner classes, but the majority of ethnicities listed are phenotypically white. Furthermore, the vast majority of New York City residents in the 1930s were white (New York City Department of City Planning, 2000).

contracts in math and reading; learned French; and studied the biographies of eminent innovators and leaders.

Significantly, Hollingworth's (1923, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939) groundwork in establishing a model of curriculum and programming for gifted education through her experimental programs and especially, the Speyer school, began with the foundational assumption that the smartest children should be educated in their own separate, self-contained classroom, segregated from other children. In her description of the very discrepant academic outcomes of students in the "slow learner" group and those in the "rapid learner" group, Hollingworth (1939) insisted the results, "emphasize the futility of trying to teach these children all together, heterogeneously, as is ordinarily the practice" (p. 3). She also described that, by separating gifted learners from others, students could progress at a faster pace and would be able to advance to secondary school at least one year early as a result of the Speyer School program. Once in secondary, they could progress along tracked programs at a pace commensurate with their mental ability: "These pupils have the problem of waste of mental ability in the elementary school only" (p. 4). Thus, the separate space for elementary gifted learners was also constructed as an opportunity to eliminate waste, a reference to the efficiency model of education.

In the figured landscape of gifted education, "waste" symbolized meritocracy: "gifted" children must advance as rapidly as possible and develop their intellect to the furthest extent in order to take the reins of the nation and hold the greatest power, influence, and wealth within the hegemonic order. Failing to provide the conditions to support this goal was considered the ultimate waste. Hollingworth (1936) described this meritocratic agenda in a report on the research conducted at the Speyer School:

> Children who test above I30 I.Q. (S-B[23]) are the conservators and the originators of those ideas and techniques upon which civilization depends. The other ninety-nine per cent cannot do this work. The world's work is arranged in a hierarchy, with reference to degrees of intellect. 'The top one per cent' can do all that the rest can do and some things that none of the rest can do." (p. 88).

Hollingworth defined gifted children not only as "rapid learners," but as the conservators of civilization itself. She described gifted children as the ultimate rulers of society and evoked Plato's vision of philosopher kings, a major theme in eugenic discourse (Hasian, 1996). The purpose of gifted education was thus framed as an activity to realize the potential of the gifted to lead and essentially, to rule as the master race. Reifying the forces of disciplinary power and normalizing judgement (Foucault, 1990, 1995), Hollingworth asserted that the top 1% can "do all that the rest can do," plus even more, implying that the nongifted may not be of much use, and certainly that they (the 99%) cannot be the conservators of civilization. Thus, "waste" in Hollingworth's estimation represented not only the neglect of the future rulers of society, but of civilization itself:

> We hear much of the desirability of producing a greater number of highly intelligent children. But does society really and wisely use those it already produces? Observations of the subsequent history of such children, made to date, suggest that there is much blind waste at present of these precious resources. It is the proper duty of educators to make such waste known, and to offer suggestions for conservation and utilization (1936, p. 90).

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[23] Stanford-Binet Assessment

The gifted were not merely rapid learners, but "precious resources," the golden caste which society carelessly chucked aside. She placed the responsibility for conserving these precious resources on the shoulders of educators, whose duty it was to correct the problem of waste and thus, bring society into its proper order. This was accomplished first and foremost, by providing a separate space for the education of the gifted.

Hollingworth (1923, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939) defined the form and function of gifted education at the level of the school: the gifted should be identified through ability tests and thus, will comprise a majority of white students with a few, rare students of color sprinkled in; they should be educated in a separate space, and differentiated from "slow learners" as definitively as possible; they should receive an enriched curriculum and a great deal of independence in their learning; and their potential to advance as rapidly as possible should not be obstructed, lest their great potential as the future conservators of society be wasted. Though Hollingworth's eugenic ideologies are shrouded in the veil of history, their effects are durable. In Greenfield, the GT program mirrored many of the aspects of Hollingworth's original programs: strict cut score were applied to mental tests (via the NNAT and CogAT) and demarcated the gifted from the nongifted; just as it was in the Speyer School, gifted programming in Greenfield represented the opposite pole of the remedial "Accelerate" program; the designation of the gifted learning environment as a separate and segregated space was also enacted in Greenfield through the pull-out model.

Racialized Rituals of the GT Pull-Out: Whiteness as Property

Although gifted programs were originally conceived of as *full-time* spaces at the Speyer School, the economic realities of providing full-time programs inspired

innovative alternatives that did not sacrifice Hollingworth's (1939) foundational assertion that gifted students should be educated in a separate location. As gifted education grew in popularity across the country different models for providing separate, segregated spaces emerged as a result of structural barriers, including limitations of budget, space, time, and personnel. The pull-out model seems to have surfaced during the "great expansion" of gifted education throughout the 1970s and 80s (Jolly, 2018) as a bureaucratic solution to such structural barriers. Is it any coincidence that the demand for gifted education and the proliferation of pull-out programs coincided with increased efforts to desegregate public schools? Many historians and scholars of education have pointed to gifted education as a primary mechanism for maintaining segregated spaces in schools post *Brown v. Board of Education* (Barlow & Dunbar, 2010; Ford, 2014; Mansfield, 2015, 2016; Margolin 1993, 1994, 1996; Peterson & Margolin, 1997). As some of the nation's schools were forced to integrate, tracking became a legitimate model for keeping white students and students of color apart within the same building (Francis & Darity, 2021; McCardle, 2020; Modica, 2015; Oakes, 1995; Tyson, 2013). This historical continuity is discussed at length in the next chapter.

The gifted and remedial pull-out represented a highly visible display of racial segregation in Greenfield. As my participants described, the resource teacher would often arrive mid-lesson, stand at the door and call out the names of students to be served in a separate location for the next hour or so. Children in the classroom waited, perhaps with joy or dread, to witness the lining up of predominantly Black and Brown students, or predominantly white students. By the identity of the teacher and the clear racial makeup of the group, students could infer whether they were leaving the class to be honored with

fun and entertaining enrichment programs, or subordinated with boring, remedial drills. Students surely recognized these rituals of removal and assigned meaning to them in the figured world of the Greenfield classrooms. Sarah described a painful moment in which a rare student of color (who also received special education services) had been identified for GT and lined up with the other kids during the pullout, but the remaining students called out to him, "That's not your group!" (Interview, January 13, 2021).

On another occasion, prior to their co-teaching experiment, Mary realized the effects of the pull-out when she was returning an identified-gifted group back to Sarah's classroom. As Mary described,

> I remember this day we were doing exciting projects about (the book) *Pippi Longstocking* and I had all the students do their hair like Pippi Longstocking. When I brought the students back, I remember Sarah just looking at me. And it occurred to me that the more enriching my activities were, the more that kids in her class were saying, "Can I go? Can I go? What do you have to do to be allowed?" I was really a gatekeeper through the use of test scores to these enriching opportunities (Interview, December 21, 2020).

The pull-out ritual, which included the moment of returning to the classroom, was intensified by the silly hairdos of the students in the GT group, and their apparent joy and pride in having received this fun opportunity. Other students did not understand what it was they had to do to earn such a privilege. This moment highlights the sorts of joys and delights available to the predominantly white students in Greenfield's GT program and their racialized, public display through the transitional moments of being pulled out to be educated in a separate space. This vignette underscores not only the historical continuity

of Hollingworth's (1936, 1937, 1938, 1939) original demand for "the gifted" to be educated in separate spaces and the hierarchical positioning of students through these general displays, but also of the visible effects of the specialized resources available to GT students. Sarah certainly did her best to provide fun and enriching activities in her general education classroom, but a select, predominantly white group in the "elite bubble" received such extraordinarily fun and special resources as to make all the other students long for similar opportunities.

Before the racial equity transformation took place in the district, gifted education in Greenfield not only affirmed the permanence of racism (Bell, 1993), but also represented a racial project (Omi & Winant, 2015) that consolidated the enrichment resources into the hands of whiteness. A racial project is "an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" (p. 125). In Greenfield, these resources included access to interest-based enrichment and rigorous learning, including the gifted pull-out program, accelerated math at the elementary level and advanced coursework at the secondary level. Additionally, students labeled as gifted at the secondary level received special social-emotional supports. A full-time teacher at both the middle and high school levels provided counseling services and social-emotional education to students labeled as gifted.

Because of the racially segregating effects of the remedial and gifted programs, this racial project can also be understood through the theory of whiteness as property (Harris, 1993). White stakeholders and employees of the school district may have dysconsciously accepted the extreme racial disparities in these programs because it felt natural and familiar for whites to receive the bounty of the finest resources and justified

the exclusion of Black and Brown students via deeply internalized beliefs about racialized intelligence levels. “Slavery and segregation are gone, but most whites continue… to expect the society to recognize an unspoken but no less vested property right in their ‘whiteness’” (Bell, 1991, p. 86). Bell described property rights as a feature of the permanence of racism, pointing to the historical continuity of slavery, which rendered Blacks as the property of whites, but came to encompass the conception that whiteness itself represents property under the law as well as the superior rights to property in general that whiteness confers. Whiteness as property refers to the legal reasoning that being white represents a form of property via status and reputation (Harris, 1993). Along with these intangible property rights, being white implies the right to particular resources, perhaps especially those that confer reputation and status in the educational context: gifted/advanced services, enrichment, the status of the gifted label, and so forth.

Thus, not only did the gifted pull-out model in Greenfield evoke the permanence of racism through its segregating effects, but it also allowed whiteness as property to operate by reserving exclusive enrichment opportunities for the predominantly white GT group. GT opportunities centered creativity, self-expression and independence, and they did so in a very white way. The whiteness of the curriculum itself within the GT and advanced academic programs at the secondary level also evinced the presence of whiteness as property. From Mary’s perspective, she tried to provide the most enriching opportunities she could through the GT pull-out program. But both Mary and Sarah talked about how their antiracist training was the catalyst to realizing their complicity in systemic racism through GT. Mary now agrees there’s nothing culturally sustaining about

Pippi Longstocking for Black and Brown students who would see little of their lives, histories, languages, and cultural ways of knowing and being reflected in that Swedish story. Such curricular choices appear to have been common across Greenfield's gifted education programs through the secondary level. For example, one student of color who was interviewed by the interns shared, "I feel like we learn about slavery for a good five seconds (in GT/Advanced courses) and then the next day we are learning about American/European history and white people… [T]here is more to our culture than just slavery" (Intern Presentation, September 14, 2020). Whiteness as property manifested not only in the individuals who had access to GT, but also in the white culturing of those spaces.

The Price of Admission: Gifted Space is White Space

Gale had lived experiences with gifted education that were very personal and informed her analysis of and insights into the racist GT system as a member of the GT Design Team in Greenfield. Gale grew up going to school in a district adjacent to Greenfield and was one of the only Black students in the K-12 gifted and advanced program. For Gale and her family, inclusion in the gifted program was a method of gaining access to rigorous learning opportunities that would eventually position her to be able to attend an excellent college and achieve a solid career path. Gale's family communicated to her that getting into the gifted program was about working "really, really hard to be really, really smart" (Interview, December 21, 2020). "Giftedness" was not discussed as some sort of inheritance or innate quality, as it is in many white communities and families, but rather that being smart came about by working hard.

Although Gale did work hard and was able to gain access by being smart in school, she learned that admission to the gifted program involved more than just hard work.

As the only Black female child in her GT group, Gale came to see that, "to be gifted and to be smart meant to be white." At a very young and vulnerable age, she understood:

> I needed to give up any pieces that were part of being Black. Like, if I was too Black then I needed to, like, leave it because there wasn't space for me to be Black and gifted. I learned in my elementary years that I would be accepted by everybody and everyone would like me the faster I became white (Interview, December 21, 2020).

Being included in the gifted program, and indeed, being considered gifted, meant performing whiteness. This defined a reciprocal identity: Performing whiteness meant performing giftedness and visa-versa. Gale came to understand this not only through the curriculum and discourses within that gifted space, but also because all of the other students were white. She realized that teachers and peers considered her gifted when she divested herself of all the attributes, tones, turns of phrase, habits, and cultural expressions that marked her as Other in that space. Although her family qualified for the free/reduced price lunch program, she begged her mother to make her a lunch and to buy her a Strawberry Shortcake lunchbox, just like all the other little white girls had. She regulated her own speech and was careful not to use words like "dressing" to refer to stuffing, and to call her sweet potato pie "pumpkin" when eating Thanksgiving food with white children from the gifted program.

She also had to tolerate microaggressions from white peers and teachers in her overwhelming white GT class. When white girls wanted to touch her hair, she felt she had to let them. She described that tolerating such microaggressions, as well as performing whiteness, was necessary to gain access to gifted education:

> But that was the price of admission. Like, let it go. Don't bring up race. Don't be Black, don't talk about anything related to Black culture. I saw my K-12 experience as being hyper visible while being every white person's one Black friend. And like, special. Like magic. Like, "Oh Gale! Oh my gosh, yeah, I know a Black person. Gale, right? She's amazing. She's just like me. No, we don't talk about race. I don't see race. No, we don't talk about race. I don't even see her as Black" (Interview, December 21, 2020).

In this way, all throughout Gale's childhood at school, she had to perform an identity that was not hers while simultaneously tolerating microaggressions that continuously positioned her as Other, non-white, and yet, non-Black. This was the price of admission: white students and teachers would supplant her culture and Blackness and demand her adherence to white ways of knowing and being. In short, Gale was continuously tokenized as, not only every white girl's one Black friend, but also as the only Black girl in the gifted program.

Among social justice-oriented critiques of gifted education, there is insufficient articulation of the toll that gifted education often takes on students of color who are included in these elite, predominantly white spaces in the name of diversity. Scholarship concerned with underrepresentation of people of color in gifted programming usually discusses this issue in terms of leveraging gifted identification procedures to find and

retain more Black and Brown students for gifted services (Callahan et al., 2017; Card & Giuliano, 2016; Frasier et al., 1995; Peters et al., 2019). However, the experiences of such students of color in overwhelmingly white classes in Greenfield and elsewhere may be very similar to Gale's (Harwood et al., 2012; Mena et al, 2017; Thomas et al., 2020). Because the majority of students identified for gifted education in many districts in the U.S. are white (Callahan et al., 2017; Hodges et al., 2018; Ricciardi et al., 2020; Peters et al., 2019; Yoon & Gentry, 2009), students of color who are included are easily positioned as racial Others in such spaces and have few choices: they can drop out of the program, tolerate a profound sense of non-belonging while continuing to maintain their authentic identity, or like Gale, hide their authentic cultural self and perform whiteness to gain a sense of acceptance and belonging from white teachers and peers. Because Gale was encouraged by her family to gain access to rigorous academic opportunities and had an internal longing to be accepted by her peers, she had little choice but to perform whiteness. Additionally, she was indoctrinated into the program at a young age, which made her even more vulnerable to adapting her identity to the requirements of the white environment in which she found herself. Even though she began to have more affirming experiences in high school where she encountered teachers of color who used culturally sustaining pedagogies, it wasn't until Gale went to a historically Black college that the real racial healing began for her. The intervening years placed Gale in a painful reality in which she had to placate white people, tolerate their acts of white dominance and microaggressions, and hide her true racial and cultural identity.

Students of color in Greenfield, as reported by the research interns, experienced similar effects in nearly all-white gifted/advanced spaces. One Black student reported that

she had never had a teacher of color in any of the GT/Advanced coursework she had taken and expressed that, “It hurt learning about white by white” (Intern Presentation, September 14, 2020) referencing not only the whiteness of the teachers, but of the curriculum as well. Another student of color shared that the majority white students in an advanced class seemed to form an impenetrable group who had all known each other for years. And another shared, “I don’t feel comfortable and I don’t belong. The students look at me like I am a gorilla and the teachers think I am dumb for my accent.” Other students of color simply felt ignored in the predominantly white GT/advanced classes. As one student put it, “The teacher never pays attention to us. Like he just assumes we don’t know what’s going on… I don’t even get eye contact from the teacher.” For Gale, battling this sense of marginalization was a theme in her efforts to belong in the white GT/Advanced spaces. Referring to the microaggressions she tolerated, she described, “I allowed that to happen because it meant that I was seen. You see me” (Interview, December 21, 2020).

Interest Convergence in White Gifted Spaces

As I’ve described, a great deal of scholarship concerned with equity in gifted education is focused on the underrepresentation of students of color, students from poverty, and non-native English speakers in gifted programming (e.g., Allen, 2017; Erwin & Worrell, 2012; Lakin, 2016; 2012; Michael-Chadwell, 2011; Peters & Engerrand, 2016). This diversity initiative is usually presented as a problem with identification, calling for greater innovation in psychometric instrumentation and techniques to identify students from “underrepresented populations.” However, these efforts usually recruit only small numbers of students of color into the predominantly

white space of gifted education. For example, even during years when Greenfield adjusted some of its assessments, cut scores, and processes (e.g., by implementing universal screening), the total population of white students in the gifted program was still over 70%, and students of color were still underrepresented by 20% (see Figure 5). Adjustments to gifted identification procedures in order to label more students of color did little to disrupt the whiteness of gifted and advanced programs. As Sarah described,

> That surface level work of, like, okay, if the criteria is (test) scores at the 98th percentile, for students of color we'll have it be the 95th percentile. And then we can sprinkle a few more students of color into the program. You know, we had gone down that road for many years" (Interview, January 13, 2021).

Like most diversity initiatives, Greenfield's attempts to adjust cut scores and change assessments failed to address the role of white supremacy, the culture of racial hegemony, and the permanence of deep systemic racism through its superficial goals. Interest convergence (Bell, 1980) can teach us that this diversity initiative exists merely to maintain the supremacy and dominance of whiteness in gifted education as a technology of hegemony: white students continue to receive the majority of material, reputational, and other status benefits conferred by the gifted label while the presence of a few Black and Brown bodies in gifted programs are used to fulfill the diversity requirement.

A small group of scholars of color (e.g., Castellano, 2004; Davis, 2010; Ford, 2010, 2014; Grantham, 2004) who work within the field of gifted education have advocated for decades to increase the identification of students of color for gifted services. How do the interests of whites converge with the interests of these scholars in

gifted education? At its best, interest convergence in the diversity initiative may represent white allyship in an effort to desegregated gifted education internally by creating diverse and inclusive gifted spaces. I invested years of my career in this pursuit and was fully convicted that what I was after was racial justice. The interest convergence for whites in this case represents a desire to enact anti-racism, to produce social justice within gifted education, and also to be able to claim the "good white person" identity that white liberalism admires (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Bell (1980) stressed that interest convergence often advances the interests of whites in some way and/or helps them to maintain their status. This is accomplished by allowing whites to position themselves as good liberals by advocating for diversity and inclusion. It's also possible that white parents are motivated to advocate for the diversity initiative in order to procure for their white children "cultural competence" by learning with children from diverse cultures in the predominantly white gifted space (Underhill, 2019).

However, at its worst, the diversity initiative represents white interest in maintaining *mostly* segregated spaces in order to preserve the white bubble that GT creates in diverse schools. Within this *mostly* white bubble, racial projects and whiteness as property in GT manifest through the distribution of tangible educational resources (e.g., enrichment, specialized teachers, social emotional supports for the gifted, etc.) and intangible resources (e.g., status of the gifted label, reputation related to a *confirmed* high level of intelligence). The interests of white people converge with the interests of people of color insofar as Black and Brown students can be identified and let into these spaces without sacrificing their white predominance. Especially if these children perform whiteness in such spaces, as Gale once did, the cultural saturation of whiteness will be

undisturbed. The labeling of children of color who are often physically moved out of diverse classrooms into all-white classrooms can represent a system of exploitation in this case. With little or no regard for their racial identities, cultural ways of knowing and being, specific histories, linguistic styles, and sense of belonging, students of color become the tools of interest convergence. Their presence can serve to legitimize the otherwise racist, tracked gifted classrooms reserved for privileged whites who have acquired the gifted label. In this way, the technologies of whiteness perform their disciplinary work to disrupt positive racial identity development and may produce a crisis of belonging driven by the white norms used to define giftedness.

The Diversity Discourse of Hollingworth

We can look to Hollingworth (1940) for sociohistorical clues concerning this expression of interest convergence around the diversity initiative. By the end of the 1930s, eugenics began to fall out of favor, especially among scholars. The academic community became skeptical of the scientific validity of eugenics (Paul, 2016) and the specter of Nazism cast a moral shadow on American eugenics (Farber, 2008). Throughout the 1930s, Hitler took up many American Eugenic policies, such as sterilization laws, and Nazi leadership publicly commended American eugenics for innovating the methods and rationales for such practices (Lombardo, 2001). In 1933, Hitler passed the Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases (Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses), which resulted in the sterilization of up to 375,000 people (Joseph & Wetzel, 2012). As American eugenics was increasingly implicated in German Nazism, some funders began to withdraw their support from eugenic organizations; a key example is the Carnegie Institute, which withdrew funding

from the Eugenics Record Office (Allen, 1986). The discourse around American eugenics shifted; people in high places (i.e., philanthropists, politicians, bureaucrats, etc.) began to refer to American eugenics as "unscientific" (Lombardo, 2001). As this sentiment grew, intellectuals who had previously been completely ensconced in eugenic projects suddenly made big, public announcements, rejecting the movement, declaring it thoroughly unscientific, and disavowing their previous affiliations (Paul, 2016). It's unlikely that these eugenic race scientists suddenly "saw the light" and pivoted to advocacy for an anti-oppressive society. I am also skeptical that their scientific integrity was so strong that they accepted empirical data disproving their eugenic theories. Critical race scholars and racial realists, like Derrick Bell (1991, 1993), remind us that empathy is unreliable and that people in the dominant caste are usually motivated by self-interest (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

In the latter half of the 1930s as eugenics was increasingly coming under scrutiny, Hollingworth (1936) and her colleagues (i.e., Arthur Gates and William Featherstone) involved in planning for the Speyer School decided that students selected for the "rapid learner" gifted cohort should reflect the city's diversity (Greenberg, 1941): the 50 pupils for the rapid learner classes would need to represent all Burroughs of the city, all "ethnic stock of the City" (Hollingworth, 1937, p. 3), and both boys and girls. She described that the rationale for this approach to the recruitment of students was, "to make such selections as would yield results applicable to the City as a whole" (p. 3). Greenberg (1941) reported that the "slow learners" were simply sourced from the immediate area around the school; it does not appear that any special efforts to represent the city's diversity were made for this group. Hollingworth, though, seems to have gone to

considerable effort to recruit ethnically representative students. Bruner and Pritchard (1941) reported that,

> Professor Hollingworth visited the homes of some of the pupils who were eligible and explained the purpose of Public School 500 (Speyer School) to the parents. She found a decided race difference in degree of willingness of parents to place their children in any new experimental situation. The success with which she was able to overcome opposition is shown by the following list of nationality or racial groups represented in the rapid-learner classes at the Speyer School (p. 77).

Greenberg then provided a list of 23 "Nationality or Racial Groups Represented by the Rapid Learners at the Speyer School" (p. 77). Most of these nationalities and racial groups listed are phenotypically white (see Table 1, below), but a few are not, making this a rather remarkable requirement, especially considering Hollingworth's (1926) emphatic assertions in the 1920s that there is "a low average of intellect among children having negro blood" (p. 70) and that, "the selection of Italians received in this country has yielded very few gifted children" (p. 71).

Table 1.

Ethnicities/Nationalities of Students in the Rapid Learner Classes at the Speyer School, Organized by Race

Phenotypically White	Phenotypically Black or Brown
Austrian, Czecho-Slovakian, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek,	American Negro, Chinese, Haitian, Japanese, Mexican, British West Indian[24]

[24] Although they were a racial minority (Lowenthal, 1967), it is possible that this term refers to European former residents of the British West Indies given the publication date of this data source (Bruner &

Phenotypically White	Phenotypically Black or Brown
Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Scotch, Spanish, Swedish	
Total = 18	Total = 5

Note. A list of the ethnicities and nationalities of students selected for the original 1935 "Rapid Learner" class at the Speyer School was provided in the final report (Bruner & Pritchard, 1941, p. 77). However, in this table, I have arranged this list into two columns to illustrate the amount of white ethnicities/nationalities included in the list. This list represents a total of 50 students.

Nonetheless, the "rapid learner" classes appear to have been mostly white. Representative students from marginalized groups were likely predominantly drawn from "unwhite white" or "off-white" ethnicities (e.g., Eastern European Americans, Mediterranean European Americans, Irish-Americans, etc.); in other words, groups that were phenotypically white, but still marginalized in the hegemonic, xenophobic, anti-immigrant culture of the 1900s. However, "American Negro," Haitian, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese students were included in the Speyer School gifted classes (Bruner & Pritchard, 1941). It is difficult to identify how many Black and Brown children comprised the specific percentage of the students selected for this group, but likely they were few. Pictures included in Greenberg and Bruner's 1941 report to the NYCBOE depict one or two Black boys participating in the rapid learner program. Yet the vast majority of children shown in these photos appear to be phenotypically white.

Pritchard, 1941, p. 77). The British West Indies were not decolonized until the late 1950s, and this term may have referred to the European settler colonists before that time (Aspinall, 1913).

Additionally, the final report stated that "the proportion of any one nationality or ethnic group should not exceed the proportion of this ethnic group in the general population" (Bruner & Pritchard, 1940, p. 76). U.S. census data show that during the time of Hollingworth's Speyer School experiments, the population of New York City was over 95% white (New York City Department of City Planning, 2000)[25]. Yet white interest, Hollingworth's interest, may have converged around the presence of at least a few Black and Brown students.

Like other eugenic scientists of the era, Hollingworth would have had a strong motivation to distance herself from the aggressive nationalist racism of German Nazism by the late 1930s when the country had clearly positioned itself as a conquering force. Although Germany did not officially incite World War II by invading Poland until September of 1939 (only a few months before Hollingworth's death), its activities had increasingly become a cause for concern among geneticists and other scientists involved in eugenics (Paul, 1995). One effect of this shifting sentiment was that some American eugenic societies began to actively distance themselves from openly racist rhetoric (p. 120). For Hollingworth, softening her racist views would have functioned as insultation, and possibly provided a status boost under the liberal shift within American eugenics. A significant piece that showcases Hollingworth's (Hollingworth & Whitty, 1940)

[25] Slavery was outlawed in New York in the early 18th century and subsequently, New York City supported the largest community of free Black Americans in the country (Kucsera & Orfield, 2014). But by the late 1800s, the Black population began to dramatically decrease when an influx of white immigrants competed with Black people for jobs and sought to advance their social status within the racial hierarchy. Black people were subjected to intense racial violence through massive riots, such as the 1863 New York City Draft Riot during which "hordes of white immigrants terrorized African American residents for days, massacred nearly all of the children in the Colored Orphan Asylum on 44th Street, and killed over one hundred African Americans" (p. 12). Throughout the first half of the 20th century, Black people continued to be acutely persecuted by whites and their population in the city remained diminished.

rhetorical pivot around race and intelligence can be found in *The Thirty-Ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Whipple, 1940).

In the article, entitled *Intelligence as Related to Race,* Hollingworth and Whitty (1940) began by critiquing anthropology and other fields for their unscientific claims regarding race difference. After the authors advocated for the continued study of race difference, they suggested that race scientists have incorrectly qualified Black people as intellectually inferior and asserted, "These investigations have serious defects and limitations" (p. 263). In particular, they underlined the fallacy that multiracial Black children (i.e., with white ancestry) tend to be more intelligent than the most dark-skinned Black people. This is a sharp turn away from Hollingworth's (1926) implication that perhaps mixed-race Black children have a stronger likelihood of being gifted. Although she had stated that it was in fact possible to occasionally find a Black gifted child, it was rare, required a prolonged search, and that it was likely that child would have evidence of white ancestry. In the 1940 publication, however, Hollingworth and Whitty presented findings from a study conducted by Jenkins (1935, cited in Hollingworth & Whitty, 1940), which used I.Q. tests to identify a number of Black children as gifted and to assert that multiracial Black children are no more intelligent than Black children without white ancestry. Nonetheless, the authors highlighted the factor of heredity in Jenkin's study, and insisted that gifted Black children had well-educated and professional class parents. In this way, Hollingworth and Whitty asserted their eugenic theories, but distanced them from implications of racism. Hollingworth and Whitty concluded:

> In view of the relative frequency of gifted children (I.Q. 140 and above) in several of the schools included in this survey, it is singular that the gifted Negro child has

> heretofore been considered an anomaly… we may discover large numbers of children of superior intelligence who are unrecognized and who are being denied the type of educational experiences necessary to their fullest development… In home background, developmental history, school progress, educational achievement, and social and personal traits, superior Negro children resemble other groups of American children who are superior in test-intelligence (p. 267).

The publication of this article, as well as Hollingworth's deliberate inclusion of a few Black and Brown students in the Speyer School's rapid learner classes represents a case of interest convergence. Hollingworth had devoted most of her career to studying intelligence within a eugenic and racist framework. By the 1930s, her eugenic beliefs were still strong; they are evident in her reports on the Speyer School in which she insisted that gifted children must be preserved as the ruling class and continuously referred to the genetic, heritable nature of intelligence, concepts rooted in Galton's (1869/1922) original conceptualization of eugenics. Hollingworth may have felt that she needed to ensure that her work would continue to be relevant as the values of eugenic societies shifted from blatantly racist agendas to more tolerant and liberal sentiments concerning race. On the other hand, she may also have been motivated by ego and status. Hollingworth worked at the University of Columbia where some of her colleagues considered her eugenic discourses to be offensive (Hertberg-Davis, 2013). Perhaps as American eugenics came under public scrutiny throughout the 1930s, she wished to not only distance herself from racist rhetoric, but also to assert gifted education as a democratic pursuit (Jolly, 2006). This would have enhanced her image and allowed her to gain status in the academic community.

Through her work at the Speyer School and in her final publications, Hollingworth (1939, 1940) set the stage for an inclusive agenda in gifted education: so long as *some* gifted children were people of color, the field would continue to be legitimate. White interest converges around this foundational tenet to maintain gifted education as a legitimate practice. The challenges of identifying children of color using instruments centered in whiteness (i.e., I.Q. tests and their contemporary derivatives) continues. Hollingworth (1922) described the "prolonged search" that is required to find Black gifted children; isn't it ironic that this continues to be reified through both scholarship and practice to successfully identify "underrepresented populations" in the contemporary context? Much of the literature of past decades concerned with equity in gifted education has focused on tweaking the identification assessment procedures to find and label more children of color. Apparently, the prolonged search goes on. But I have become increasingly concerned with those small, isolated groups of children of color in gifted education, or even lone individuals, like Gale. Gifted education has given them (to varying degrees) access to enrichment, rigor, high expectations, independence in learning, freedom to pursue their interests, a lower student-to-teacher ratio, and a label that confers status. But at what cost to these children of color? I believe Gale's story speaks to that cost.

Conclusion

Because I devoted so many years of my own career to the diversity agenda in gifted education, and believed so fervently in the importance of this cause, I am especially concerned with providing a different analysis of this longstanding initiative in gifted education. Critical Race Theory helps to reveal how the permanence of racism

(Bell, 1991, 1993) has played out through an enduring focus on the question posed by the Greenfield interns, included in the title of this chapter: "Why aren't students of color already in advanced and gifted classes?" The historical evidence I have presented in this chapter suggests significant historical continuities that link present lived realities with past ideologies. Children of color have always been underrepresented in gifted education. The cultural model of giftedness did not include them: Terman (1916, 1922a) and his colleagues forwarded an explicitly racist, eugenic conception of people of color as being subordinate to whites in intelligence. Ability tests were and continue to be constructed based on a "universal" conception of intelligence that ignores the complex cultural plurality of cognition and cognitive expression; the universal construct of intelligence centers intellectual skills valued by whiteness and white cognitive expressions. Whiteness was constructed through gifted education as the master race, the meritocratic leaders of society, as Hollingworth (1939) asserted in her final years. Predominantly white gifted children were to be educated in a separate space, segregating them from lesser "stock."

Though often coded or veiled, these beliefs, systems, and practices are durable and still with us. Interest-convergence has convinced many that the diversity initiative is the solution to racial segregation and underrepresentation in gifted education. Yet it also has functioned as an infinite treadmill of (mostly) unproductive rhetoric through which the segregated space of gifted education has been maintained. Why is it that across the country and with rare exceptions, "underrepresented populations" continue, with very little progress, to be underrepresented? In Greenfield, years of effort went into changing the identification process to increase equity and access to gifted education, including consulting with "experts" in equitable identification and implementing their

recommendations. Nonetheless, the students served by gifted education and advanced academics remained overwhelmingly white.

Will we ever arrive at a time when identification is so perfected that gifted education spaces cease to be predominated by white people in diverse schools and school districts? And predominated not only by the overidentification of white students, but also *dominated* by white culture, white curriculum, white linguistic styles, white worldviews, white ways of knowing and white ways of being? Will our schools ever be truly antiracist so long as the "separate space" of giftedness continues to be the norm? So long as tracking, academic hierarchy, and efficiency agendas that label some students as more "educable" and with a "higher potential" than others continue to be our practices?

I hope that educators can come to understand that these systems were created by white supremacy. Though our social contexts have shifted over time, we continue to uphold the same structures that were created by scientific racism. As Audre Lorde (2018) so famously wrote, "For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (p. 2). If the "master's tools" of gifted education (e.g., mental/ability testing, labeling and tracking, centering whiteness in curriculum and instruction, and providing segregated spaces for GT instruction) were created by racist eugenicists, how can they ever dismantle the racial violence and inequities within the master's house?

Chapter 6

"Won't the GT program get watered down?" The Coded Language of White Supremacy

Early in the morning on Martin Luther King Jr. Day in 2021, Mary, Sarah, and I sat on a Zoom meeting with Thomas. Despite the winter darkness, Sarah and Mary were bright eyed and energized by an idea they had for how to move forward with detracking the GT program. As a result of the pandemic, online teaching had given them new opportunities to co-teach, differentiate, enrich, and learn from each other. Sarah described,

> This school year has shown me a way to be more collective than ever before. Here I am in my basement every day and I feel more in partnership than ever before. Because of how we're teaching with video conferencing, (reading instruction) has been modeled for me like never before. I see that in GT we "other" kids— but in distance learning, there is a level of invisible differentiation that is happening (Fieldnotes, January 18, 2021).

Mary added, "What we feel that we can now do is transform GT to a strengths-based approach, with STEM and the arts and even physical and social-emotional health, and places for racial affinity" (Fieldnotes, January 18, 2021). They were full of ideas for how to make GT more inclusive, more available to all students, and were visioning a new way forward.

Days before, the GT Design Team along with various teacher leaders and administrators involved in the racial equity transformation process had participated in a day-long training with Dr. Yvette Jackson (2011), a scholar, author and consultant who

specializes in detracking gifted education within an antiracist framework. Dr. Jackson's message that all children benefit from gifted pedagogies had particularly struck a chord with the GT Design Team. This experience seemed to have galvanized the team and energized their convictions that change must come now. Thomas, too, had an eye-opening experience, which he shared at our small, early morning meeting: "When Dr. Jackson asked us to put down our strengths, I realized I had to think big. This isn't about gifted education— it's about the whole system" (Fieldnotes, January 18, 2021). We waited for Thomas to go on, sensing that something important was coming. After a beat, he described,

> To me, we're not going to be able to transform GT until we dismantle our intervention programming. If we believe we want access to gifted education for all, then the students in Accelerate (the remedial program) will never get access to gifted education. They don't even get access to standard education throughout the school day right now.

Thomas opened a PowerPoint he had created and began to share with us his vision for how to bring together the work of all the design teams into a synthesized plan of action. He detailed an approach that would detrack both remedial and gifted education, and instead repurpose gifted education as a talent development (Boykin, 2000) service all students would receive through an hour-long specialist class (like physical education, art or music). Drawing on Yvette Jackson's philosophy to make gifted pedagogies available to all students as a form of social and racial justice, he envisioned this class would include both an antiracist curriculum and an interest-driven program for critical thinking, creative problem solving, and enrichment pedagogies. All students in K-5 would take this

class at least two days a week. At the same time, the Accelerate program would end. Students would no longer be pulled out of the classroom for remedial services. He would increase educational staffing to support and coach reading instruction in the classroom and to provide teachers with better job-embedded professional development and co-teaching opportunities to differentiate curriculum. All students would receive their foundational learning within their home classroom. These sweeping changes would end the system of ability grouping that had created an intractable state of within-school segregation at the K-5 level for many years in GPS.

At the secondary level, the plan presented less dramatic changes to the system. It eliminated GT teacher positions and instead, required that every high school student take at least one advanced academics course (e.g., Advanced Placement, International Baccalaureate Diploma Program) *and* a college-level math course. The focus on eliminating remedial programs was also emphasized in the plan for the secondary system; teachers would now need to increase their capacity and skills to scaffold learning for all students within these courses to ensure they would be successful. In place of GT, he envisioned creating a system of interest-based interdisciplinary or subject-specific extension projects that secondary students could opt into, thus providing increased academic depth and complexity based on student choice. Thomas also enjoined this detracking initiative in academics with explicit antiracist pedagogies: secondary students would be required to take an antiracist course, something which would end up provoking a bit of resistance and confusion as stakeholders struggled to understand the connection.

I was surprised by this administer-created plan and curious to see what would happen next. Thomas had been intentional about placing teacher-leaders (i.e., the design

and consulting teams) in the driver's seat of the equity transformation work. Although each team had engaged deeply with the process of interrogating their fields and departments through a racial equity lens, the plan of action seemed to have been forestalled in some cases. The GT Design Team members had wrestled with this, too.

For example, earlier in the winter the team was struggling to put their vision for the future of GT down on paper after they had become concerned about the language around GT in the middle school course catalogue. In their efforts to disrupt the hegemonic tone of the GT program description, they were asked by the middle school principal to provide clarity around what the GT program would look like moving forward. During a day-long planning session, Gale had asked the team, "It is time to move into action- what's keeping us from moving into action around this?" (Fieldnotes, December 17th, 2020). Mary had replied, "I think we need to know, what exactly is our K-8 vision for an antiracist GT program? And I wonder if everyone on the team feels the same way about what that vision should be?" There had been a long and awkward silence among team members at that point, and the vision was never fully articulated. Such moments had occurred occasionally among team members as they struggled to articulate actionable change.

Furthermore, the GT Design Team represented only one group of teacher-leaders working on a specific area of the system; there were design teams for math, literacy, world language, science, and so forth. All teams held the same mission: to interrogate systemic racism within their domain and to ultimately produce a new actionable framework for transformation. Yet design teams did not often collaborate with each other. For example, the GT and the Math Design Teams never got together to outline a

vertically articulated framework for detracked math, though both teams shared this vision. In particular, time was an issue. Not only was it difficult and demanding to find the time to complete this work outside of the often overwhelming responsibilities of teaching, coaching and leading through a pandemic, but there was a sense of urgency to produce this change. The time that would be necessary to produce such collaborations and inter-design team collaborations could have forestalled the production of a real district-wide plan by months, maybe even years. Systems-level synthesis seemed necessary given the complexity of the change that would be required to achieve the racial equity goals outlined by district leaders and design teams. Thomas's leadership around a concrete plan of action did seem necessary at this point, though he risked losing the support of his teachers who could have perceived this as a top-down mandate, rather than a co-created vision.

Nevertheless, Thomas's presentation of an actionable plan marked the beginning of true change. After the January meeting with the small team, Thomas began circulating this PowerPoint presentation (edited and revised along the way) to increasingly larger and more potentially reactive groups of stakeholders. The GT Design Team bristled a little at first; Max had shared that he "felt like a pawn in a chess game. Like I was being set up. [Thomas] propelled it to another level and that kind of bothered me" (Fieldnotes, February 2nd, 2021). But the GT Design Team collectively came to embrace Thomas's actionable plan over the next few weeks. Eventually, they were giving presentations to other groups around the district, including principals, teachers, and parents that provided a rationale for the GT and advanced academics components of the plan.

Soon enough, though, some teachers, and ultimately, some parents, began to voice displeasure with the proposed changes to the system. In particular, this discontent was galvanized early on by the announcement that all ten of the Accelerate teachers would be laid off due to the abolition of the remedial pull-out program. A few of these teachers and some of their colleagues expressed a range of negative emotions and even some small campaigns, such as the "Save Accelerate!" slogan that began to circulate on social media. There was even a threat of a boycott on one of the staff meetings where systemic changes were to be presented, apparently instigated by some teachers who already knew about the Accelerate program layoffs. Slowly, this resistance seemed to spread, mildly, to additional teachers and eventually the parent community. It began to surface through social media, emails, snippets of conversation, pointed questions, and hostile silences. The GT Design Team reported back on all of this during their weekly meetings and forwarded threads and comments they had fielded during presentations. Eventually, they coalesced the major themes of the small, but concerning challenge posed by the predominantly white staff and parents, some of whom were nurturing a simmering resistance to the racial equity transformation plan.

The GT Design Team identified themes that continuously emerged among the discontented stakeholders, and synthesized them as comments and questions they heard repeatedly. At presentations, they would share these statements to prompt critical inquiry and encourage GPS staff to interrogate the underlying beliefs implied by them. They encouraged mindful inquiry as staff engaged with these comments and questions by using sentence stems that could create more productive and honest conversations, such as, "What I heard you say was…" and "tell me more about what you meant by…" (GT

Design Team Presentation, April, 2021). This approach proved to be productive for the GT Design Team in their work with school staff, and it has been productive for me as well. In this chapter, I used the ethnographic work of the GT Design Team, who assembled these themes, to structure a conversation between past and present and to examine the nature, tactics and rhetoric of white resistance to detracking GT and advanced academics through the sociohistorical lens. To structure this analysis, I have focused on three specific synthesized statements from the resistant faction in GPS, which the GT Design Team used in their presentations and coaching work with staff. These include:

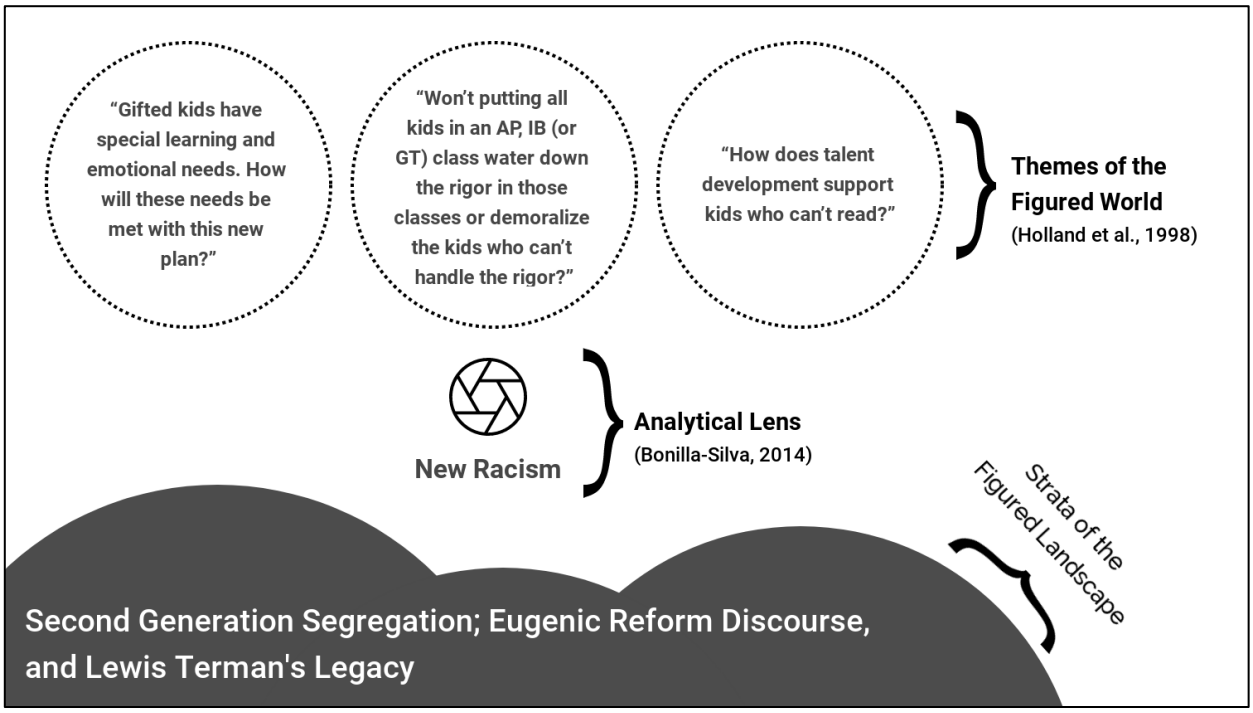
1. "How does talent development support kids who can't read?"
2. "Won't putting all kids in an AP, IB (or GT) class water down the rigor in those classes or demoralize the kids who can't handle the rigor?"
3. "Gifted kids have special learning and emotional needs. How will these needs be met with this new plan?"

Each of these synthesized statements (which I equate with qualitative themes) points to a range of historically rooted systems, beliefs and practices. I have mapped these three statement-as-themes from the figured world of GPS onto historiography and primary source historical evidence to explore how durable, racist ideologies have been carried forward as structures and deeply held beliefs. These statements bring context to familiar problems in education and create a dialogic data set co-constructed with my participants. The history I have highlighted in this chapter to sociohistorically locate these themes and statements is derived from two sources: 1) Historiography concerning the maintenance of school segregation post-*Brown vs. Board of Education* through school

tracking, remediation, gifted education and advanced academics; 2.) The archive of Lewis Madison Terman, through which I have explored shifts in his eugenic rhetoric post World War II, and in particular, how his life and work were represented by biographers and colleagues in the post-war context. Figure 7 visualizes the relationship between sociohistorical strata, ethnographic themes-as-statements, and the analytical lens.

Figure 7.

Excavated Themes of Chapter 6 Representing Historical Continuities between Figured Landscape and Figured World



Rather than relate a separate ideological historical stratum to each ethnographic theme, as I did in Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter emphasizes periodization, and specifically the cultural zeitgeist of the post-war era and its transformative effect on eugenic and race science discourses related to gifted education. A pivotal claim of this dissertation is that the ideologies of eugenics and scientific racism in the foundational theorizing of gifted

education represent historical continuities. In the present, the durability of these ideologies do not (usually) appear as literal ideological reifications (e.g., explicit eugenic statements or claims), but rather are revealed in tacit and symbolic ways as systems, structures, processes, and deeply held beliefs expressed in subtle and (sometimes) evasive ways. The postwar period, I believe, encapsulates an important phase in which a sedimentation of these ideological discourses took place; the zeitgeist of the Cold War Era and the concurrence of the Civil Rights Movement produced significant shifts in discourses that are helpful in understanding the ways in which eugenic and other hegemonic ideologies went "underground" in gifted education. The exploration of this phase helps to illuminate historical continuities and establish context for the discursive practices of resistance to detracking, desegregation, and antiracism in Greenfield Public Schools. This history is even closer, in many ways, to the lived realities of resistance in Greenfield, and thus its relationship is less recursive and more intertwined than the other histories I have evoked thus far. To help illustrate this point, I have relied on Bonilla-Silva's (2014) theory of new racism and color-blind racism to interpret both the complex power dynamics of racist discourses and to articulate the historical durability of these ideologies to better focalize and interpret this complex, close relationship of past to present and visa-versa.

This chapter begins with some contextual framing of the context of antiracist work in Greenfield Public Schools by exploring the ways in which Greenfield's approach to antiracism constituted a figured world. I then described the coded language of white supremacy that often constitutes conversations concerning racial equity in education and outlined specific aspects of Bonilla-Silva's (2014) theory that best relate to the GPS

context. I next presented findings related to the theme (represented by the GT Design Team's synthesized stakeholder question), "How does talent development support kids who can't read?" I related this theme to historiography and primary sources (Douglass, 1881; Du Bois 1899, 1903, 1998/1935, 2005/1915) describing the longstanding color line in education as well as the ways in which it has been maintained when efforts to dismantle segregation have been enacted. Next, I described findings related to the theme, "Won't putting all kids in an AP, IB (or GT) course water down the rigor…?" I examined this theme by relating it to historical continuities concerning discursive shifts within and around gifted education during the Civil Rights Era. I mainly drew off the historiography of Porter (2017a, 2017b, 2018) to discuss this historical continuity and analyzed it through the lens of new racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Finally, I described findings related to the theme, "Gifted kids have special social and emotional needs…" I worked to disrupt the empirical authority implicit in this statement by relating the historical continuity of eugenic ideologies in gifted education. I exhumed Lewis Terman's post-World War II communications to examine his continued involvement with eugenics and the ways in which eugenic ideological discourses shifted after the war.

The Figured World of Anti-Racism in Greenfield Public Schools

In order to better understand the context of Greenfield Public Schools, I need to describe its longstanding engagement with antiracist practices and the figured world formed around this work. For a decade, GPS had been engaged in equity coaching work that involved most teachers across the school district. The program was originally started by two white women teachers at the high school who were concerned about the lack of antiracist practices and critical consciousness in the district. In GPS's region, their

approach to equity coaching was unique and centered intrapersonal goals that prompted teachers to examine their beliefs and disrupt internalized racism and complicity in racist systems and practices. Essentially, the equity coaching work sought to conscientize (Friere, 1970) Greenfield educators and to change both the individual and collective hearts and minds of its predominantly white workforce to better serve its racially diverse student population.

When I began my fieldwork, I was truly surprised by the antiracist discourses I heard from many different educators and administrators across Greenfield. I routinely heard teachers, administrators, and other educators use terminology from critical race theory such as "whiteness as property" and "interest convergence" – in fact, many of the theories I have applied to this study were surfaced explicitly by Greenfield's educators. Because the equity coaching work drew a great deal of its strategies and practices from the antiracism program, *Courageous Conversations* (Singleton, 2014), as well as other content from Singleton's foundation, the Pacific Education Group, it presented itself very vividly as a figured world. To step inside a conversation among educators and administrators in Greenfield was to know you'd entered a particular domain in which the rules, norms, vocabulary, and other performances were well understood by "insiders." Many spoke with authority of "the third agreement" or "the sixth condition" (i.e., references to protocols from *Courageous Conversations*), and everyone seemed to be quite familiar with "the compass" (i.e., a symbolic tool for mediating difficult conversations about race by practicing a sort of meta-awareness of present-moment experience). I had worked in districts where *Courageous Conversations'* protocols had

been used, but I had never seen it lived day-to-day with such authenticity, embeddedness, and widespread acceptance.

The effect of this layer of the figured world of Greenfield was that the overarching culture was definitively devoted to antiracism and the language and practices of *Courageous Conversations* were absolutely normalized and omnipresent. I saw this from the School-board level to the district office, among staff at meetings, and of course, among the more selective groups of design team members. This culture of antiracism exemplified Holland et al.'s (1998) assertion that figured worlds represent, "a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (p. 52). To be an educator within this figured world in Greenfield meant that your commitment to antiracism must not be placed in doubt. It was clear to Gale, an equity coach, that despite this symbolic and performative adoption of the rituals and routines of antiracism, many were not "walking the talk" (Fieldnotes, March, 29, 2021). The system itself spoke to that reality, as I have thoroughly detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

When the detracking initiative was announced to all teachers across the district, many who did not like the plan found it difficult to state directly their displeasure. There were many tense silences during Q and A portions of presentations led by Thomas and the GT Design Team. As Sarah described, "Maybe people are afraid to say something because they'll be perceived as racist by speaking up against an antiracist plan." (Fieldnotes, March 1, 2021). Mary added, "I'm concerned that the silence is undertones of white supremacy. I'd like to see how we can move from silence to shared beliefs."

Furthermore, one district representative shared with me that the local predominantly white community was widely considered to be progressive and very liberal. Many white parents also espoused antiracist values. Nonetheless, both white parents and educators alike who were upset by the plan to detrack had to strive for methods of communicating their resistance within the figured world of antiracism in Greenfield. Their discourses needed to obey the symbolic rules of the cultural world they shared; these stakeholders needed to resist an antiracist plan without sacrificing their belonging in an antiracist figured world.

At the same time, there were many contextual factors that further escalated this tension: Thomas began announcing the detracking plan weeks after the U.S. capitol was attacked by Trump supporters, one of whom dragged a confederate flag around the premises highlighting the white supremacist orientation of that presidency (Cramer, 2021). In addition to George Floyd's murder, and the murders of many other Black Americans at the hands of U.S. police officers throughout 2020 and 2021, the global Covid-19 pandemic underlined racial inequities across the Midwest and throughout the country. All of these factors converged on Greenfield Public Schools and the design teams as they boldly supported Thomas's plan to begin detracking the district. Nonetheless, the discursive methods for resistance to the plan that some stakeholders mounted were unremarkable from a sociohistorical perspective. As a nation, it has been unacceptable to be openly racist in most public domains for many, many years. Members of the dominant caste (i.e., white folks, and in particular, white middle class and affluent people) have nonetheless found numerous methods for representing and enacting racism. The rules for talking about race have changed (and, in fact, are constantly changing), but

racism itself is durable. This chapter is about understanding that legacy and the ways in which Greenfield represents a microcosm of larger movements that seek to disrupt racist systems.

The Coded Language of White Supremacy

One thing that I hope stands out to the reader of this dissertation is the contrast between the openly racist discourses of the founders of American gifted education and the ways in which folks speak today, including my participants' speech about race in the quotes I have included. Indeed, in our day-to-day lives, especially in professional spaces, no one would communicate openly about the racial hierarchy of intelligence (which places "Negros" and "Indians" at the bottom) the way that Lewis Terman (1916, 1922a) and Leta Hollingworth (1926) did. This is one reason why some scholars seem to think that the eugenic roots of gifted education have little to no relevance to the present (e.g., Jolly, 2018). I have argued, of course, that these foundational eugenic ideologies are more than present: they thrived in Greenfield and, likely, tend to thrive in many contemporary U.S. school systems. Yet their presence is deeply coded; to speak openly to others, or even inside one's own head, about racial hierarchies of intelligence would be abhorrent to many educators. This discursive shift in racist rhetoric begs the question: What has occurred in the last one hundred years to make Hollingworth's and Terman's use of openly racist discourse unacceptable?

In the last chapter, I described that some eugenic organizations in the 1930s began to distance themselves from racist rhetoric, even as they continued to forward eugenic policies around issues of immigration and the like (Paul, 1995). Some scholars, such as Roediger (2019), argued that the transition away from blithely racist discourses can be

seen as an artifact of white liberalism under the New Deal politics of the 1930s, which advocated policies centering race neutrality. In addition to shifting sentiments in American liberalism and their influence on "social welfare societies" (which many eugenic organizations believed themselves to be, Leonard, 2003), Black Americans and other oppressed racial groups organized for social justice between the World Wars, influencing racial discourses (Barkan, 1992). Economic and political pressures brought on by protests and social upheaval of the Civil Rights Era began to change social norms for race discourse. Bell (1980) also described that the Cold War and America's reputation abroad were motivating factors that influenced acceptable practices (and likely, discourses as well) among whites, who did not wish to be seen abroad as violators of human rights due to racial injustices in the U.S. In short, many factors appear to have influenced revised expressions of racism that were once acceptable during the heyday of eugenics, but racism itself and the deeply internalized schema of racial hierarchy have remained intact within systems and people (Bell, 2008; Dudziak, 2000).

As described in Chapter 3, Bonilla-Silva (2014) explained that an explicit shift in discourses throughout the Civil Rights Era emerged as "color-blind racism," which is often expressed through the many, complex "semantic moves" deployed by whites to ensure they never sound racist. Although GPS invested many years in developing its figured world of antiracism through equity coaching and countless, deliberate conversations around race, many of these "semantic moves" that allowed whites to "talk nasty about minorities without sounding racist" (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 101) can be located within the themes that emerged in reaction to Greenfield's racial equity transformation plan. While the majority of white people in the U.S. create a rhetorical

maze to talk about race, this effect was particularly complex in GPS because of their deliberate attempts to resist the discourses of colorblind racism. For example, equity coaches would often encourage Greenfield educators to "racialize" their statements when they used colorblind racist discourse, such as when a teacher referred to "those kids," but was encouraged to name them as "Black and Brown kids." Because of this coaching, a *new* new racism emerged. Sometimes, teachers would name race (usually using the terminology "Black and Brown") while stating tacitly racist beliefs, such as the notion that children of color would not benefit from enrichment or talent development. This *new* new racism redacted Bonilla-Silva's second tenet of new racism (i.e., "the avoidance of racial terminology," p. 26), while continuing to reify most of his other tenets (see Chapter 3). In short, pushing teachers to name race did not always transform racist beliefs, as evidenced by the themes discussed in this chapter. In the following, I have analyzed these themes of the coded language of white supremacy in Greenfield through Bonilla-Silva's lens of new racism. Simultaneously, I have worked to surface the evolving discourses around race in historical texts from the postwar era to examine the ways in which new racism was centered in gifted education. Actors within both the ethnographic and historical contexts seem to have valued the requirement that whites publicly present themselves as "not racist," which I see as the central force that caused eugenic and race science ideologies in gifted education to go underground.

"How does talent development support kids who can't read?"

Once Thomas and other district leaders and administrators were ready to begin announcing the new plan for racial equity, the first group to hear about it were the teachers who would be most affected by it: the 10 Accelerate teachers who would all be

laid off. They were told explicitly that no child would be receiving separate, remedial pull-out services and that, instead, *all* children would be receiving regular weekly gifted and talented classes. Consequently, their positions would now be closed out. Because gifted and remedial tracks represented a form of racial segregation, Thomas had seen that he could not detrack gifted education without dismantling remediation: they were two sides of the same coin in terms of their segregating effects. Shortly after he had shared with Sarah, Mary and I his PowerPoint of the new racial equity transformation plan, Thomas and several district administrators gathered the Accelerate teachers together to break the news.

Emotional responses surfaced immediately. Thomas reported that after his presentation, "Some were angry, some were hurt. A couple named that they constructed this as 'the district is kowtowing to those gifted families and leaving all the Black and Brown children behind.' Some of them see what they're doing as saving Black and Brown kids." (Fieldnotes, February 4, 2021). Thomas decoded their meaning by racializing their desire to hold onto their jobs with Accelerate where they felt they were doing meaningful work in service to predominantly Black and Brown students. Thomas went on,

> There are going to be a lot of questions. People are going to come after Accelerate… They're going to be angry at GT about Accelerate. They are going to say, "We have no problem with 'GT for all.'" But they do. They do. They believe that some kids need remediation and can't have access to talent development. They'll say, "Talent development is good for all, but what about those poor Black and Brown kids who can't read or do math?"

Eventually, Thomas's prediction came true, and more explicit and confrontational questions arose that centered the belief that students who need remediation should not receive talent development services. The GT Design Team members eventually captured this semantic move in a quote they heard repeated often enough: "How does talent development support kids who can't read?"

As this particular challenge began circulating among some of the teachers who were upset about the discontinuation of Accelerate, equity coaches, including Gale, moved in to work through this with the white teachers affected by the change. Some of the unhappy Accelerate teachers seemed to see themselves as saviors to the students of color they served. This, despite the fact that the remedial services they offered rarely produced their intended goal: to help students catch up to grade level benchmarks in reading and math. Gale pushed these teachers to interrogate their perceptions of the Black and Brown students they taught. She described,

> This is a system that has been this way so long and people are used to it and it's very comfortable… I have been asking people, "What is your experience with a child that is labeled gifted who is Black or Brown?" It's a hard question to ask and the answer is hard to hear. There are so many teachers operating in the belief that they (i.e., students of color) are so cute and so sweet. It is saving versus liberating…Everyone needs to pause (because) there's so much coded language. We need to pause and ask deeper questions around "what do you mean by that?" (Fieldnotes, March 1, 2021).

As an equity coach, Gale prompted these teachers to name their beliefs: can Black students be gifted? Can a Brown child receiving remedial services from you also have

unlimited potential and the ability to develop unique academic talents? The Accelerate program had obviously positioned Black and Brown students as less capable and possessing less potential, and this became "very comfortable" for many of the white teachers. Furthermore, it defined their identities as educators. Some Accelerate teachers apparently saw themselves as the heroes of those Black and Brown children, whom they perceived as "cute and sweet," but certainly not gifted.

These white teachers benefited from tracked, remedial programming in multiple ways: materially, it provided them with the financial support and security of fulltime employment; reputationally, it allowed them to see themselves as good people who were saving Black and Brown kids who "can't read"; in terms of status, it confirmed white superiority by reifying the racial hierarchy of intelligence (see Chapter 5). To see these Black and Brown students as potentially benefiting from talent development services represented a threat to all three of these benefits. The semantic move they leveraged to preserve these benefits was to ask in a challenging and defensive way, "How does talent development support kids who can't read?" The power relations of whiteness prompted an oppositional response to the effort to detrack and thus, end Accelerate. Interestingly, the only person of color among the Accelerate teachers reacted differently: upon hearing she would be losing her job, she said, "We've been identifying students based on their deficits for too long" (Fieldnotes, February 4, 2021) and expressed interest in taking on a different kind of teaching position in Greenfield, perhaps even as one of the new talent development teachers.

White saviorism was at work in the resistance presented by a few of the white Accelerate teachers. I see white saviorism as an expression of Bonilla-Silva's (2014)

"new racism" because it represents a semantic and symbolic move that maintains the racial hierarchy while simultaneously positioning white actors as good liberals. White saviors see themselves (and hope to be perceived by others) as humanitarians who selflessly redeem the pathetic, lowly, and oppressed. They sense they are superior to Black and Brown people because their very nature as saviors demonstrates that people of color simply do not have the capacity to save themselves. Kendi (2020) reminds us that white saviorism is, in fact, one of the oldest rhetorical strategies of racism: European slave traders saw themselves as religiously saving the souls of the Africans they enslaved, who would otherwise by doomed to hell. Cammarota (2011) located white saviorism in the Frierian concept of 'false generosity': "The focus on 'saving' instead of 'transforming' fails to address oppressive structures and thus the privileges that maintain white supremacy. False generosity is an 'attempt to soften the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed' (Freire, 1998, cited in Cammarota, 2011, p. 244). When Gale described "It is saving versus liberating," she named the power relations at work in these semantic moves that maintain white supremacy.

While theories such as white saviorism help explain the interactional power relations of new racism's semantic moves, the history can explicitly show the ideologies at work in these subjectivities at both the systems and the individual level. It is true that white actors leverage whiteness in particular ways when their status and security are threatened, as in the case of the Accelerate teachers who mounted this discursive defense. At the heart of their words lies a deeper meaning, of which the Accelerate teachers and their allies were likely dysconscious. It is exactly the ideology that Galton (1869/1922), Terman (1916, 1922a), and Hollingworth (1926) communicated explicitly during the

heyday of eugenic racism described in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. A summary of this ideological system would go something like this:

Some are born to rule and lead, and others to be subordinate. These leaders will be predominantly white, and the subordinates predominantly Black and Brown. Some whites (such as those who come from "uneducated" and impoverished families, as well as "unwhite" whites) may cross the line and become subordinates, and a scant few people of color (such as those who come from "well educated" and "upwardly mobile" families), may enter the ranks of the leaders. The reason for this is that intelligence is genetically mediated according to a racial hierarchy: Aryan whites have the strongest genetic propensity for intelligence and Black people have the least. Thus, individual destinies are predetermined. Educational institutions must structure the distribution of resources according to these inevitable destinies and avoid wasting precious resources on those who were born to be subordinate. The system will hold each in their place. And we can count on that system to maintain the order with which we (whiteness) feel deeply to be right, safe, and comfortable because it maintains our power and supremacy.

These deeply held beliefs within many school systems and within many educators (often dysconsciously) reify a phenomenon in this country that has been observed since the abolition of slavery: the color line. In the next section, I have briefly described the history of the color line before discussing its durability throughout the civil rights era and especially how it functioned through gifted education to maintain segregation after the landmark supreme court decision in *Brown versus the Board of Education* and the Civil Rights Act. The color line represents a particularly resilient component of U.S. racial hegemony, yet nowadays, we rarely name the color line as segregation in education,

though our tracked systems almost always produce segregation (Tyson, 2011). The sentiment in Greenfield that kids who "can't read" won't benefit from inclusion in rigorous and enriched learning is a reification of the ideology upholding the color line.

The Color Line and Within School Segregation Post *Brown v. Board.* During the post-reconstruction phase of American history, Frederick Douglass (1881) described the color line that sustained the white perception of Black people as subordinate and subhuman. He named that, "Everything against the person with the hated color is promptly taken for granted; while everything in his favor is received with suspicion and doubt" (p. 569). Douglass emphasized that the color line was more than a technical convention. It described the racial hegemony that framed the white gaze, still enacted today, which represents dark skin as subservient. The color line refers to both the material and immaterial properties that separate people of color from whites, both the practices that create racial segregation and the dispositions that goad complicity with such systems.

Du Bois (1899, 1903) famously described that the color line is the major problem of the 20th century, but also recognized that "most white people are quite unconscious of any such powerful and vindictive feeling" (p. 322) that sustains the color line. In *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) Du Bois detailed the ways in which the color line functioned in an ostensibly liberal, progressive northern city in the late 19th century (and his description of Philadelphia at the turn of the 20th century makes one wonder if the "new racism" is really so *new* after all):

> Presumably the first impulse of the average Philadelphian would be emphatically to deny any such marked and blighting discrimination… against a group of citizens in this metropolis. Everyone knows that in the past color prejudice in the

> city was deep and passionate; living men can remember when a Negro could not sit in a street car or walk many streets in peace. These times have passed, however, and many imagine that active discrimination against the Negro has passed with them. Careful inquiry will convince any such one of his error (p. 326).

The liberal ideals of white folks concealed deeply held and embodied feelings of racial superiority. While cities such as Philadelphia contained some of the original abolitionists and provided sanctuary to freed and refugee slaves before the Civil War (Andrews et al., 2011), progressive politics failed to interrupt racial injustices and the macro- and micro-aggressions that characterized the daily lives of Black people. Yet even during this pre-Civil Rights era setting, whites sought to perform a kind of antiracism while simultaneously upholding systems and structures as well as deeply internalized beliefs that maintained the color line.

Philadelphia was one of the first cities to provide free education to Black Americans, beginning in 1770 when the Quaker community put in place the first school for free Blacks in the city (Du Bois, 1899). By 1881, 73 years before *Brown verse Board of Education*, the Pennsylvania State Senate passed a bill prohibiting race-based segregation in public schools. Despite the new law, Philadelphia schools maintained racial segregation and a majority of Black children continued to attend Black schools. Du Bois reported that, "This enactment was for some time evaded, and even now some discrimination is practiced quietly in the matter of admission and transfers" (p. 89). The *quiet* discrimination he reported likely represented the coded white supremacy that functioned behind a liberal performance of antiracism, as he described earlier in this

study. Despite these surprisingly progressive 19th century educational policies, the structural racism in Philadelphia was maintained not only through the continuance of segregation[26], but also through the educational attainment of Black Americans in the city. For example, Du Bois described that in one school, "[I]t appears that of 1000 colored children entering the primary grade 110 go to the grammar school, ten to the high school and one to college or to a professional school" (p. 93). Discrimination through admissions and transfers likely played a significant role in the lack of advanced educational attainment of Black people in the city. This early example of legally mandated desegregation reveals the longstanding and complex mechanisms that maintain segregation. Philadelphia's early failure to integrate schools represents a historical continuity that demonstrates the deep entrenchment of the color line.

Gifted education and advanced academics came to play a pivotal role in the maintenance of segregation during and after another phase of legally mandated desegregation. The *Brown versus the Board of Education* (1954) decision was perhaps the most significant symbolic challenge to the color line within public education at a national level. Despite the success of *Brown* in securing jurisprudence to deconstruct color lines between schools, most school systems were able to maintain segregation through a variety of mechanisms, including the use of tracking via remedial and gifted education programs (Baker, 2001; Minow, 1990; Porter, 2017a; Porter, 2017b, Porter,

[26] Du Bois underscored that "there are also schools still attended solely by Negro pupils and taught by Negro teachers, although, of course, the children are at liberty to go elsewhere if they choose. They are kept largely through a feeling of loyalty to Negro teachers" (p. 89). Other historians and scholars have described the haven of culturally sustaining teaching that was provided to Black students in all-Black schools who were taught by Black teachers prior to forced integration (hooks, 2014; Preston-Grimes, 2010). Du Bois's observation complicated a technical understanding of desegregation and evokes Ewing's (2018) theory of institutional mourning, which in part describes how Black communities in Chicago formed deep, longstanding relationships with Black teachers in their community schools.

2018). Simultaneously, Cold War anxieties alongside the Soviet Union's successful launch of Sputnik in 1957 provoked a fervor of interest in the development of advanced math and science skills through the public education system. Furthermore, gifted education research and educational programs during the 1950s were funded by federal programs concerned with the Soviet threat, most significantly by the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which was enacted in 1958 (Urban, 2010). This program provided funding not only to reform math and science curriculum, but also "[a]bout 50% of its total spending was for increased 'intelligence' testing, and guidance and placement strategies, which worked hand in hand with… grouping by 'ability' in schools across the nation" (Porter, 2018, p.4).

It is widely acknowledged that *Brown* generated very little actual desegregation (Tushnet & Lezin, 1991), but that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 brought material consequences for school districts who did not succeed with integration by withholding federal funds (Lees, 1965). Schools now faced the potential loss of federal funding if they did not desegregate, and many were consequently forced to integrate. Jolly (2018), a historian of gifted education, described that the 1950s was a fruitful time for gifted education because "Academically advanced youth would be cultivated as a resource in America's Cold War effort against the Soviet Union" (p. 93), but bemoaned that the passing of the Civil Rights Act shut down many gifted education programs:

> [C]hanging priorities also witnessed some school districts deprioritizing gifted programming, with the most vulnerable programs disappearing altogether… After nearly a decade of educational attentions being drawn elsewhere, the close of the

> 1960s would present opportunities for the field of gifted education to reassert itself" (p. 138).

Jolly indexed antiracism and equity as a challenge to gifted education because of "attentions being drawn elsewhere," and in particular underscored the lack of continued NDEA funding to support research in gifted education. Other scholars (Baker, 2001; Minow, 1990; Porter, 2017a, 2017b, 2018) have shown that the Civil Rights Era brought opportunities for gifted education to reassert itself because of the trend for school systems to use ability grouping to maintain segregation. This form of ability grouping functioned as tracking: students were placed in remedial or gifted/advanced programs and rarely were allowed to transition out of those groups (Baker, 2001). The maintenance of *de jure* (or legalized) segregation through tracking is often called "second generation segregation" (Meier et al.,1989; Welner & Oakes, 1996) which "involves the racially correlated allocation of educational opportunities" (Mickelson, 2001, p. 216) to maintain segregation *within* racially diverse schools.

In the emergent era of new racism, schools and school districts, controlled by whiteness, continued to find ways to maintain segregation by implementing proliferative forms of curriculum tracking (Ansalone, 2006). Where schools actually managed to integrate, within school segregation meant that "white middle-class students are mostly situated in classes with advanced and enriched curricula and minority students and those navigating poverty are mostly situated in standard or remedial classes" (Francis & Darity, 2021, p.188). Deever (1991) presented a case study of these conditions in Bulloch Country Public Schools, Georgia, when the district was forced to integrate in 1969[27].

[27] In this school district, as was the case in many others (Wright, 1965), school choice was originally used as a de facto mechanism for integration which placed the onus for integration on parents. However, in this

After an initial year in which Black children were forced to move into all white schools and nearly half of the Black teaching force was laid off, the schools decided to implement ability grouping. Although these groupings began with racial quotas to maintain integration (federal officials were regularly checking in to ensure integration was maintained at the classroom level), they soon came to represent de jure segregation. As one of Deever's participants described,

> At some point they (federal officials) quit watching us and at that point we started going with straight ability grouping… the principal decided that since the lowest level would be the great majority of black kids, he didn't want any white kids to be just one or two or three in there. So his decision was to make the lowest level all black kids and to make the highest level all white kids (p. 21).

Within only a few years of federally mandated desegregation, the Bulloch County Public schools were able to establish second generation segregation by leveraging formal and informal tests of ability and ability grouping practices to ensure that white children and Black children never (or rarely) mixed. Even on the playground, the advanced-level classes of all-white children were brought out to play in a separate location from the all-Black, low-level classes. The color line was maintained through the use of conceptualizations of "ability" and subsequent tracking practices.

These technical moves that effectively separated students of color from white students through ability grouping within schools became common in districts across the country where integrated schools were established (Minow, 1990). For example, Washington D.C., Baltimore, New Orleans, St. Louis and many southern school districts

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case, the United States Attorney General had ordered the district to desegregate by 1969 due to the failure of their school choice program to produce integration.

implemented similar systems for ability tracking (Baker, 2001; Porter, 2017a). Simultaneously, a renewed interest in standardized testing to better quantify ability, including the rapid rise of Educational Testing Services (ETS) and its ability-based "National Guidance Testing Program," was taken up by states such as Virginia and Georgia. Supported by the funding of the NDEA, standardized ability and I.Q. tests, were also used to control student admission to and placement in schools in a fairly blatant attempt to prevent desegregation, especially in the south (Baker, 2001).

Alongside these enactments of second generation segregation, the discourses of new racism prevented legal challenges from succeeding and assured white stakeholders of the reasonableness of these measures. Racially segregated tracking was referred to as "administrative efficiency" and ensured that integration would not result in "lowering standards" (Baker, 2001). Furthermore, some administrators and politicians argued that these approaches would help Black and other students of color to catch up to their more advantaged peers (Baker, 2001), while others leveraged claims that tracking systems ensured that students' inherent abilities would be better met (Porter, 2017a). Yet, in many school districts, such as Washington D.C. public schools, racially segregated students of color remained trapped in the lowest tracks, rarely gaining entry to the predominantly white classes set aside for gifted, advanced, and honors students (Baker, 2001).

Once again, mental testing and standardized achievement tests created the scientized justification for de jure second generation segregation. When the NAACP brought a legal challenge against the use of standardized testing for school placement in Alabama, the court ruled that testing "furnishes the legal machinery for an orderly administration of the public schools in a constitutional manner by the admission of

qualified pupils upon a basis of individual merit without regard to their race or color" (*Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education*, 1958, as cited in Baker, 2001). Thus, the semantic moves of new racism were leveraged to disavow the relevance of race in a testing process that clearly separated students by race to maintain segregation. The tests themselves were essentially characterized as color-blind.

Second generation de jure segregation in Greenfield. Greenfield's segregated GT and Accelerate programs were unremarkable: the segregating architecture that emerged on a vast scale in the 1950s and 1960s is used in the majority of U.S. schools today (Francis & Darity, 2021; McNeal, 2009; Miller, 2018; Tyson, 2013). Since the Civil Rights Era, the new racism that seeks to maintain white supremacy within American schools has carried forward this legacy of second generation segregation through ability grouping, tracking, and testing. The responses of Accelerate teachers who resisted the detracking efforts in Greenfield were likewise unremarkable. Like some of the white stakeholders in tracked school systems during the Civil Rights Era (Baker, 2001), they believed that their programs and systems supported the students of color they served. Yet on a tacit or dysconscious level, they also reified the eugenic discourses that claimed some (i.e., predominantly white students) are simply born smarter than others.

At the root of these discourses and systems are the ideologies of scientific racism that explicitly drew the color line between white and Black/Brown intelligence. Bonilla-Silva (2014) underscored that ideologies construct "meaning in the service of power" and that the "rulers" (i.e., those in the dominant caste) "receive solace by believing they are not involved in the terrible ordeal of creating and maintaining inequality" (p. 74). Some educators in Greenfield seemed to struggle with the notion that the GT and Accelerate

programs represented a form of segregation. Their racially-conscious discourses had obscured their dysconsciousness of the racializing function of these systems and structures. Rather, some Accelerate teachers saw themselves as selfless saviors of poor children of color who "can't read," and apparently, who never would read well so long as they stayed in Accelerate (according to the high retention rate of such students in the program over time). As a Black equity coach in Greenfield, Gale had a particularly burdensome task in coaching these resistant white women to raise critical consciousness around the loss of their jobs with Accelerate. She described,

> There's so much layered fragility. The teachers I've talked to know all the right things to say. But when it comes to the personal work because your position is being cut and when Accelerate (is described as) a form of racial segregation, that's when I notice the defenses. I asked them to speak to that. But they don't want to name that their identities are wrapped up in that. The way that they feel needed by Black and Brown families is not something they can name right now. (They believe) I'm really racist if I admit it. (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2021).

To be sure, losing your job is difficult. Yet the semantic moves these teachers leveraged in defense of their positions is both problematic and indicative of deeper, structural enactments of longstanding, durable racial hierarchies rooted in the American legacy of scientific racism and eugenics, and institutionalized during the Civil Rights Era. As Gale described, the racially segregating programs had been in place for so long in the district they had become normalized. These structures allowed educators to construct their professional identities and establish narratives of social justice around the work they did without prompting critical interrogation or awareness of systemic racism. From a

sociohistorical perspective, these systems were designed quite explicitly to maintain second generation segregation within diverse schools. This form of systemic racism tacitly placed the deficit on students, as opposed to educators and leaders, for the racially disproportionate representation of students in remedial programs or low-ability tracks, like Accelerate. The racist system *materialized* racist ideologies and absolved white participants from responsibility for racial segregation. Thus, when Gale explicitly named segregation, these teachers were offended and became defensive. Was it really something they'd never noticed? Doubtful. But the rules of new racism and the power of structural racism made it difficult for them to see what the system (and their complicity in it) was doing. And even if they had noticed it, as Gale pointed out, it would be even more difficult to name their self-awareness without sounding racist.

"Won't putting all kids in GT, AP or IB water down the rigor in those classes or demoralize the kids who can't handle the rigor?"

While there was a deepening concern in Greenfield Public Schools around including students of color in gifted and advanced classes, another coded layer of white supremacy emerged as anxieties related to the oft repeated and disturbingly eugenic phrase "water down[28]." This version of "water down" referred to concerns that the academic rigor of GT and advanced academics would be lessened by the inclusion of other (i.e., Black and Brown) students who didn't meet the traditional standardized testing criteria. I first heard this phrase during the winter of 2021, when I watched the GPS school board meeting on Zoom as I sat on my couch in the evening. After what

[28] "Water down" as a euphemism for dilution recalls the eugenic theory of race degeneration. For example, in an editorial printed in the *Eugenic Review*, Charles Wicksteed Armstrong (1961) wrote, "We are watering down our British blood, swamping it with that of exotic races" (p. 178).

seemed like an interminably long time (hours, really), Thomas finally presented the racial equity transformation plan to the board. It was the same presentation I had seen many times at that point, but I waited with some trepidation for the board members' responses. After steeping myself in the literature around the struggles and failures of both current and past detracking initiatives in U.S. schools, I kept waiting for the intense community backlash. Imagine my surprise when the board members applauded the plan. One white representative even became slightly emotional when she thanked Thomas and the design teams for creating this plan so she would not have to tell her daughter that she would not be included in the GT program again due to inadequate test scores. I had been told by educators in Greenfield that the board was very progressive, and the community, in general, quite liberal. Apparently, detracking GT and advanced academics was a popular idea. However, as the meeting was wrapping up, a white male board member spoke up:

> I can hear the enthusiasm… (but) I'm also thinking about a recent board listening sessions where we fielded a couple questions about gifted and talented and whether it was going to get watered down… I just wanted to underscore that. When we hear talent development it sounds awesome… But there's concern about watering down… I'm sensitive to what that means (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2021)

Later, Mary provided additional background on the listening session which the school board member referenced: "He had that school board listening session and a lot of the discussion was around GT. I texted you all after it. The parents were all white, and they were all saying, 'we want the accelerated math program back[29]'" (Fieldnotes, March 1,

[29] Parents were referring to one of the GT services which allowed elementary students to advance a year or more in math, placing them on an advanced math track that would carry them through secondary

2021). Mary also shared that other educators in the district had concerns about the board member's warning regarding "watering down GT;" Some felt this was a warning that school leaders must ensure white parents would not become too upset.

Eventually, it became clearer that other parents and educators were concerned about this "watering down" effect, and began to state openly that not all students are capable of doing rigorous coursework. Sarah shared that on social media some parents baulked at the idea that every high school student should take an AP and a college-level math course. Shortly after the board meeting, an article came out in the local newspaper about the changes to GT, advanced academics and remediation. Even more comments along these lines began surfacing. Thomas shared concerns among some teachers: "There is an underlying tone in a small minority in our high school. Some are wondering that … if all kids take an AP and IB class, we're going to have to water down our courses." Some educators also felt they would need to "water down" the rigor of their instruction in order to accommodate the integration of Black and Brown students in advanced courses.

The GT Design Team members had no problem analyzing this kind of response as whiteness as property (Harris, 1993). Thomas named it when he described reactions to the modest detracking efforts at the high school level:

> I have been hearing the narrative of "you're taking away the exclusive AP and IB classes. You're going to let those Black and Brown students have it." …The whiteness as property is coming out around (the question), "Who has owned AP and IB?" The segregation at the high school is powerful and entrenched. That's

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coursework. This program had already been eliminated by 2021, even as the district-wide racial equity transformation program was just being rolled out.

> playing out in the parents that are emailing me and also in the questions that are coming from the staff (Fieldnotes, March 8, 2021).

This form of whiteness as property relied on racial segregation to ensure the status of rigorous courses by maintaining a predominantly white student population. Mary, Max, Sarah, and Gale had all anticipated that this form of whiteness as property would manifest as white people perceiving they would be losing something as a result of detracking. Mary said, "I think there's going to be reaction from parents around the GT piece... I think it's going to be white parents. They're going to be like, 'you're taking something away from me'" (Fieldnotes, February 7, 2021). Max said, "White supremacy has a line. My line might be here and their line might be there. It is about what they are willing to give up. I have worries about where that line is for families" (Fieldnotes, February 2, 2021). Gale shared that by being asked to "give something up," white people would refuse to acquiesce their property rights in whiteness: "In my experience, whiteness will stand its ground and *their kids* will be losing" (Fieldnotes, February 2, 2021).

Their predictions did come true for a small group of resistant parents: without naming race explicitly, concerns that predominantly white spaces would somehow be made less academically rigorous by an influx of Black and Brown students is a classic example of the semantic moves of new racism. Believing that the inclusion of "all students" (i.e., Black and Brown students) in AP or GT classes will "water down" the rigor originates from the same source as believing that "kids who can't read" (i.e., Black and Brown students) will not benefit from gifted pedagogies and rigorous coursework. Not only will it be bad for those Black and Brown kids who "can't read," it will be bad

for those predominantly white gifted kids who can read exceptionally well. Again, the deep internalization of the racial hierarchy of intelligence, as well as the hereditarian view of intelligence, seem to dysconsciously undergird these beliefs. Although I see these ideologies as being firmly rooted in the American Eugenics Movement and the work of Terman and Hollingworth, examination of emergent discourses during the post-World War II era helps to articulate the genealogy of the perception that racial inclusion will "water down" rigor and thus, harm gifted and academically talented students.

Segregation to Preserve Precious National Resources during the Cold War. I have already described that both Terman (1916) and Hollingworth (1936) constructed the gifted as the future leaders of the nation in the spirit of Plato's philosopher kings, and essentially, the master race who should hold decisional authority (see Chapters 4 and 5). During the Cold War years, this attitude took on some urgency as the U.S. competed technologically with the Soviet Union and an invigorated interest in gifted education took shape. Porter (2017a, 2017b) assembled a detailed critical accounting of these years to excavate the narratives that constructed gifted and academically talented students as a "precious minority." Echoing Bonilla-Silva's (2014) framework for colorblind racism, he underscored the rise of race neutral language that was used to emphasize individual differences. In the 1950s discourses on the gifted shifted from the eugenic era's obsession with intergroup differences to an assertion that individual differences were genetically mediated and proportionately present across all socially constructed groups, including race and class; as a practitioner of gifted education since 2008, this was the perspective that I was taught and that I operationalized. Additionally, a democratization of gifted education occurred during this phase in which Hollingworth's (1936) standard for gifted

identification was broadened from the top 1% to higher percentages of top performing students (e.g., top 15%).

These new discourses represented an artifact of colorblind racism as opposed to a true paradigm shift in conceptualizations of intelligence in opposition to racial hegemony. Although discourses became less virulently racist and classist as compared to the eugenics era, the tacit racism produced by gifted education was carried forward through the proliferation of tracking throughout the Cold War years as a result of federal mandates to desegregated school systems, described previously. However, Porter (2017a) illuminated a new narrative that emerged through articles in popular magazines and other primary sources of the period: the discourse of psychological damage to the gifted. For example, an article in *Life Magazine* published in 1958 (two years after Terman's death), entitled "The Waste of Fine Minds," featured a white, 11 year old boy named Barry who was exceptionally gifted according to I.Q. tests, but horribly bored in school. Porter quoted the article, which described Barry as "isolated by his intelligence, unchallenged at school, unable even to respond much to the loving but uneasy efforts of his parents to guide him, Barry is virtually forced to spend a great deal of time all by himself" (*Life* Correspondent, 1958, cited in Porter, 2017a, p. 582). The gist of this discourse was that not only were gifted children languishing in schools and failing to fully develop their superior potential, but that this languishing was *hurting them*.

This discourse was not new, but its sudden appearance in the mainstream and the seriousness with which it was taken up in an era of both Cold War pressures and mandatory desegregation represented a new form of eugenic racism, dolled up in the novel textures of the 50s and 60s. In the years preceding the Cold War and Civil Rights

eras, Hollingworth (1940) had described the damage that could be caused to gifted children if they had to suffer the privations of learning environments designed for the mediocre majority: "Among school children (as among the peoples of all times), the great intellectual leaders are unrecognized, isolated, and even ridiculed by all but a few, in the ordinary course of mass education," and emphasized, "They can develop leadership of their sort only when placed in a special class" (p. 137). Although she, like Terman (1925a; Terman et al., 1926, 1930, 1947, 1959) and other eugenicists, emphasized the overall superiority of gifted children (emotionally, morally, physically, etc.), she underscored that gifted children left to languish in regular classrooms could develop problems:

> [W]e must go on to speak of the psychological isolation of these children, when they drift unrecognized. The majority of children above 160 I.Q. play little with other children, because the difficulties of social contact are almost insurmountable. Unless special facilities can be provided, these children tend to become isolates… This danger of becoming an isolate and a hermit, is one that should be carefully studied in the interest of leadership" (p. 144).

In keeping with her trope, Hollingworth underlined not only the psychological damage that could lead a highly intelligent child to become a lonely hermit, but that the only solution was segregation: the "special facilities" and "special classes" she described represent such segregated spaces where superior students can finally converse comfortably with others of the same caliber.

In 1958, the *Life* article that Porter (2017a) described concluded with the warning that Barry's story exemplified: "The great danger for this lively and strangely lonely boy

lies in the chance that, his talents wasted by disuse, he will end his isolation by becoming an utterly ordinary person" (*Life* Correspondent, cited in Porter, 2017a, p. 582). The worst calamity that could befall a gifted child then, would be ordinariness. At the same time, Hollingworth's concern that the gifted were at risk of "psychological isolation" was translated to a risk of "psychological damage" in the sense that, during the Cold War period, "the gifted" were constructed as vulnerable to aimlessness, depression, even maladjustment (Porter, 2017b). As this discourse was developed, the gifted came to be indexed as a minority who were likely to be discriminated against. Proponents of gifted education became advocates who fought for the marginalized gifted youths' rights to the sole treatment that could cure them: a segregated education in which only those with the highest I.Q.'s would participate. As Porter (2017b) summarized, "neglect of the gifted grew from 'prejudice' and could result in 'psychological damage'" (p. 370).

As I read Porter's (2017a, 2017b) article and dissertation from which I have drawn this analysis, I experienced many memories and evocations of historical continuities within my own lived experiences in gifted education. The discourses I often heard (and participated in) at gifted education conferences constructed gifted children as marginalized educational minorities whose needs were neglected and overlooked. When completing my master's degree in gifted education, I was required to take a counseling course on the "psychological needs of gifted children." Although my memories of this course are hazy, I do recall a class in which I was asked to roleplay counseling gifted children on how to make friends. My major takeaway from this course was that gifted children were at risk of becoming psychologically damaged: that they might end up being anxious, depressed or socially isolated and that they suffered because they were

intellectually superior and "out of sync" with typical development. But I am absolutely certain, despite my hazy memories, that there was no discussion of racialization, white supremacy, or the needs of children from nondominant castes.

This portrait of the gifted child as a neglected minority, discriminated against in the public education system and thus, at risk of psychological damage is a vivid example of one of Bonilla-Silva's (2014) foundational tenets of new racism: "the avoidance of racial terminology and the ever-growing claim by whites that they experience 'reverse racism'" (p. 26). Children selected for gifted programs and advanced academics then, now and always have been predominantly white in the vast majority of such programs in the U.S. Thus, when gifted or academically talented students are constructed as a minority that experiences educational discrimination and psychological damage, there is an implicit claim of reverse racism. Furthermore, the Cold War discourses around psychological damage to the gifted eerily echoed the thesis that essentially secured the victory of *Brown versus the Board of Education*: that segregation was psychologically damaging to children of color (Clark et al., 2004). This new discourse inverted that argument: desegregation (disguised as detracked and integrated classrooms and courses) was psychologically damaging to the (predominantly white) subgroup of intellectually gifted students.

Because of the great proliferation of ability-based tracking and grouping practices throughout this period of history, gifted and academically talented students were racially segregated in predominantly white spaces. Although school systems may not have had official gifted education programs that implemented field-sanctioned identification and instructional practices (Porter, 2017b), tracking served to create the separate spaces for

which Hollingworth (1940) had advocated. This historical continuity is evidenced in Greenfield: GT pull-out programs, accelerated math, and secondary advanced academic programs functioned as tracking and established such racially segregated spaces. The coded language of white supremacy is inherent in the statement, "Won't putting all kids in an AP or IB class water down the rigor in those classes or demoralize the kids who can't handle the rigor?" If the rigor is watered down, both parties are harmed: those predominantly Black and Brown students who are implicitly inferior in ability will be demoralized, and furthermore, predominantly white students could be harmed. The anxieties of white parents, as expressed by the school board member, highlighted their concerns that this watering down could be very bad indeed for their children.

The color-blind racism present in this line of thinking is demonstrated by the speakers' refusals to name race despite the fact that the segregated race demographics of these programs were highly visible to teachers and parents. Furthermore, the race demographic statistics of these tracked programs had also been presented to the school board, parent groups, and educators (for those who trust a graph more than their own eyes). The individual-ability discourses of the Cold War era that operationalized this manifestation of new racism seem central to concerns about "watering down" the rigor in Greenfield: children have individual abilities and thus, individual needs. Not all children can handle rigor. Therefore, teachers will have to attend to *their* needs instead of those predominantly white and academically talented kids, who will ultimately languish. The only way to preserve rigor is to prevent whiteness from being watered down in gifted and advanced academic spaces.

"Gifted kids have special learning and emotional needs. How will these needs be met with this new plan?"

At what point did U.S. educators come to conceptualize "the gifted" as having "special learning and emotional needs" in a race-neutral, color-blind manner outside of the context of the original blatantly racist framework that Hollingworth (1926) and Terman (1916, 1922a) established? Bonilla-Silva (2014) instructed that racism did not simply vanish as a result of the Civil Rights Era, it merely took on a new guise. Additionally, as I've described, some educators encounter this ideology as "science"—that was the case for me. I understood these claims to be empirical, research-based findings, and I know that Max, Mary and other Greenfield educators were also exposed to this view. Many of us were trained to meet the needs of gifted students through professional development and higher education coursework facilitated by "experts" in the field of gifted education. We read research articles and textbooks that detailed the special learning and emotional needs of the gifted. Yet very few of us were shown when, where and how these original understandings were actually constructed. I immediately recognized this scientized discourse when the design team shared the theme they identified, expressed as the question, "Gifted kids have special learning and emotional needs. How will these needs be met with this new plan?"

We rely on scholars of gifted education, their research, public presentations, white papers, monographs, and professional development or higher education programs, to teach us what the science says about "the gifted." At what point did these professors, consultants and experts come to bury (or dysconsciously disassociate) the actual history of scientific racism and eugenics in gifted education? I was never explicitly taught the

history of eugenics in gifted education, and discovered it on my own while doing research for a term paper as a graduate student. Yet I was once told at a conference presentation that some professors of gifted education teach the history of eugenics in gifted education within their college courses. In my experience, the vast majority of educators to whom I present this history tell me they have never heard of it before, including those that had in-depth training and college coursework in gifted education. Although some of these professors and experts might teach this history, I wonder what significance or relevance they attribute to it?

In Jolly's (2018) history of gifted education she devoted a single one-and-a-half page chapter to this piece of the history entitled "The Residue of Eugenics" (p. 82). She concluded that, "The 1930s witnessed a decline in the appeal of eugenics beliefs… Even though the field of gifted education did not continue to expand upon these eugenic concepts, Hollingworth's and Terman's eugenic assumptions clouded the research conducted during this foundational period" (p. 83). There is a (very brief) recognition that eugenics was entangled with gifted education and an implication that it simply "clouded" some of the findings. Implicitly, these clouds were cleared up in the ensuing and righteous decades that followed. Other scholars make more explicit claims that Terman and Hollingworth either broke away from eugenics, disavowed its ideology, or never supported it in the first place (Crosby & Hastorf, 2000; Leslie, 2000, Rudnitski, 1997; Warne 2019). Warne (2019) reported that, "Terman's enthusiasm for eugenics did not continue past the mid-1930s. He resigned his membership from eugenics organizations by 1935 and did not support them privately beyond 1938" (p. 7). Warne sites Minton (1988), who made no such global claim of a total break with eugenic organizations,

although he noted several organizations that Terman resigned from; as I will show, archival evidence reveals Terman remained involved in eugenic organizations in a variety of ways throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Still others, like VanTassel-Baska (2013) have praised the "positive" eugenic beliefs of Francis Galton, the true "father of gifted education" (p. 20). Hertberg-Davis (2013) has urged the public to accept the complexity of Hollingworth's legacy, and thus, perhaps, take no antiracist action against the racist ideologies she centered in her work and which undergird assumptions and practices in gifted education today.

The lack of criticality around the relevance of the racist and eugenic ideologies in the "cloudy" foundation of gifted education render many of its "scientific" claims suspect. The GPS stakeholders who were concerned about the special social and emotional learning needs of labeled-gifted students likely believed that such needs represented an empirical fact. This "precious minority" (Porter, 2017a, 2017b) had been studied for decades and voluminous literature had been produced suggesting the tendency of "the gifted" to experience psychological suffering when left to languish in learning spaces designed for "the average." Although many scholars of gifted education (like their forerunners, Hollingworth and Terman) have continued to underscore the superior social-emotional and moral qualities of the gifted (e.g., Renzulli, 2002; Scholwinski & Reynolds, 1985; Shechtman & Silektor, 2012; Silverman, 1994;), literature in the field continues to emphasize the empirical claim that "the gifted" do indeed have special social and emotional needs (e.g., Cross, 2001; Eren et al., 2018; Kennedy & Farley, 2018). Furthermore, from the time of Terman onward, gifted education research has made very strong claims that children who test in the highest stanines on I.Q. and other measures (or

who otherwise qualify as "gifted" depending on which of the many definitions for giftedness have been used) require a very different kind of education than other students (Gross, 1992; Papadopoulos, 2020; Schultz, 2018). However, the ideologies drawn from scientific racism that "clouded" the foundational research of the field are still with us, as evidence by the overwhelming whiteness of most gifted education programs in the country today. *Clouding*, it turns out, is an apt metaphor: Those clouds have never been properly addressed and dissipated, and part of the reason for that has been the obfuscation of the foundational ideologies of the field.

In order to deconstruct the concept expressed in GPS, stated with such confidence as an absolute fact, that "the gifted have special social and emotional needs," I believe it is important to examine how and why the eugenic, racist history of the field has been excused, perhaps occasionally acknowledged, but ultimately set aside. It is possible to question these empirical claims that have constructed the gifted as a precious minority (Porter 2017a, 2017b) when one can see the house of (racist, classist, ableist) mirrors out of which the concept of giftedness was produced. In the next section, I have assembled historical evidence from the Lewis Madison Terman archive that refutes Warne's (2019) and others' claims that Terman turned away from eugenics. I have also worked to show how his legacy was repackaged by biographers, eulogizers, and others to allow for a refreshed narrative to emerge around the foundations of gifted education, one that could be incorporated into the new discourses of colorblind racism. Gifted education, through its post-war turn toward the individual and away from an emphasis on intergroup difference, was reconstructed as part of the fabric of educational equity. Tidying up this unpleasant history was a necessary step in achieving this outcome.

The Lewis Terman Legacy. Despite what a few scholars have claimed, the archival evidence shows that Lewis Terman remained a devoted eugenicist until the end of his life. In 1951 and 1952, he was a member of the Consultative Counsel to the Eugenics Society, and by 1956 he described that he had been an honorary fellow of the society for some time (Terman, 1956). In 1953 he was honored by the California Historical Society for "a life devoted to eugenic research" (Parratt, 1953), an honor which he gratefully accepted. Terman's scholarly interests continued to center the eugenic project of reproduction and fecundity among the gifted (Terman, 1947b, 1950b). Throughout the 1950s Terman also continued to have quite a robust correspondence with two prominent eugenic colleagues, with whom he collaborated in a number of ways. These were C.P. Blacker, the Secretary of the Eugenic Society based in England, and C.M. Goethe, a wealthy businessman, longtime member of several eugenic organizations, and outspoken eugenic activist who founded the Eugenics Society of Northern California

The British eugenicist, C.P. Blacker, began corresponding with Terman as early as 1945 when he requested permission to reprint Terman's article, "Psychological Approaches to the Biography of Genius" as a pamphlet (likely to be used as propaganda to spread the Eugenic Society's ideology) (Blacker, 1945); Terman (1945) granted permission shortly thereafter. Terman became involved with the organization and provided additional material for publication, such as his 1947 "contribution to the series of papers in eugenics" that the Eugenic Society produced (1947a). Terman corresponded with Blacker about their shared interest in eugenic projects, such as Terman's (1950c) "field follow-up of my large group of 1,450 intellectually superior subjects…" which would include an "investigation of the factors influencing the rate of reproduction in the

group" (p. 1). For several years the two exchanged eugenic literature they believed the other would enjoy, including: *Human Fertility; The Modern Dilemma* (Cook, 1951); *Occasional Papers on Eugenics No. 7: The Expectations of Mental Infirmity in a Sample of the Danish Population* (Fremming, 1951); and many of Francis Galton's books, such as *Inquiries into Human Faculty* (1883)*, Three Memoirs* (1951), and *Hereditary Genius* (1869/1922). Terman (1952) even sent Blacker, "a rather lengthy and dull monograph on 'Correlates of Orgasm Adequacy in a Group of 556 women,'" which was based on data from the "follow-up of our gifted group in 1940" (p. 1). Terman probably thought this was of interest to Blacker because of their shared concern with dysgenics; they both valued efforts to increase the birthrate among Terman's gifted subjects because they would have thought them representative of the ideal gene pool.

Blacker elicited support and editing from Terman around his biography of Francis Galton, which he hoped would provide "a living introduction to present-day eugenic principles and policies" (Blacker, 1952a, p. 1). Blacker was especially concerned that the public would receive this book as a revised and socially appropriate version of eugenics, symbolically divorced from Nazism. Specifically, he was worried that "critics of eugenics… represent a moderate eugenic programme as 'the thin end of a wedge' of which 'the thick end' is racialism, a caste system, and Nazi practices" (p. 2). Blacker was determined to bracket explicitly racist intergroup discourses in his version of eugenics. It's possible that in Blacker, Terman saw an ally for his own eugenic aims. Terman seems to have worked to scrub racist language from his correspondences and publications by the mid-1930s[30], but he remained quite devoted to his eugenic projects and views. Blacker

[30] However, I did make note of a racist joke that Terman (1946) wrote in a letter to Edward Thorndike in which he made fun of a Black woman who, supposedly, named her child Gonorrhea because she thought

was a eugenic reformer who wished to paint the movement in a more humanitarian light. For Terman, a friend such as Blacker may have brought him a sense of comfort and reassurance around his eugenic projects and previous racist publications (now somewhat socially unacceptable) during the emerging Civil Rights movement in the U.S.

In Clare Hanson's (2013) history, *Eugenics, Literature and Culture in Post-War Britain*, the author worked to refute assertions that eugenics faded away in the aftermath of the war, and highlighted Blacker's involvement with the Eugenic Society (and other eugenic organizations) that continued to operate throughout the 1950s and beyond. Hanson described Blacker's invention of "crypto-eugenic strategy" which was the "'policy of pursuing eugenic ends by less obvious means'" (Blacker, cited in Hanson, 2013, p. 124). Blacker was a skilled diplomat and propogandist who used this strategy to actualize the eugenic belief that "there were innate differences between races, and that the changing balance between races pose a threat to the development of the species" (p. 124). Blacker implemented this agenda through his role as secretary within the Eugenics Society, and also through his involvement with the International Planned Parenthood Federation, various post-war projects involving advocacy for population control, and by leveraging "crypto-eugenics." For example, he described a new "humanitarian" approach to sterilization of the inferior races in the following way:

> There has also been a move from a eugenic to a humanitarian and paediatric [*sic*] standpoint. Sterilization, it is now widely believed, can help families. It can help mothers whose health is suffering from the combined effects of malnutrition and

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the name was pretty. I mention this only because it is an interesting example of the new racism emerging through the latter half of the 1930s and beyond in which eugenics organizations sought to distance themselves from overt racism. Terman felt comfortable making this racist joke to an old colleague in a private letter, but at this time he rarely seemed to have spoken about or published publicly racist views.

> of numerous unplanned pregnancies… The well-being of children already born or likely soon to be born (paediatric considerations) supplement the welfare of a remote posterity" (Blacker, cited in Hanson, 2013, p. 124).

Hanson used this passage to illustrate Blacker's skillfulness in softening eugenic discourses and making them more acceptable to the general public. In this quote, Blacker emphasized compassion, mercy and the welfare of mothers, families, and children, but also suggested that their decreased reproductive capacity would ensure the welfare of "remote posterity." This subtle and tactful positioning of eugenic ideologies within a humanitarian, postwar framework was a key strategy for Blacker.

In his book, *Eugenics: Galton and After* (1952b) Blacker applied the same treatment to race. Galton's views on race were, of course, profoundly hegemonic and ultimately devastating when they were taken up by white supremacy in the U.S. Blacker carefully reconstructed Galton's views on race within his crypto-eugenic strategy to distance them from Nazism. For example, Blacker contrasted the cruelty of Nazism with Galton's view of race:

> It is possible that a casual reader of Galton, who was steeped in the literature of racism, might detect similarities (between Galton's views on race and Nazism). But the essential ideas underlying the two systems are far apart. Galton saw the spread of civilization as a painful though inevitable process… Nietzsche's superman[31], on the other hand… was glorified because of his fearlessness, his masterfulness and his cruelty. He was full of contempt for the weak, for whom no pity should be felt" (p. 327).

[31] "Nietzsche's Superman" is a reference to "the übermensch," which was a trope of the Nazi regime (Jezernik, 2007).

Blacker discursively distanced Galtonian eugenic racism from Nazism by highlighting the dispositional dissonance between the two schools of thought: Nazis took pleasure in the elimination of "the weak," whereas Galton (and his followers) sought to ease the harshness of the natural and inevitable demise of weaker races. Blacker concluded that Galton's discussion of race represented, "the first tentative efforts of a kindly man to apply to humanity the harsh lessons of biology as then understood. His motive was to prevent, not to inflict suffering" (p. 328). Although Blacker tucked this bit of analysis away in the appendix of his book, its message is clear. Blacker endorsed the concept of weaker races, especially the "Negro" race, while repositioning eugenics as a compassionate intermediary in their inevitable biological demise. Post-war Eugenic reformers like Blacker worked to make these kinds of pivots in order to rebrand eugenic agendas and cleanse their ideologies of the taint of Nazism.

Terman's (1950b, 1950c) obsession with the fecundity of the gifted represented this same kind of pivot. Blacker eagerly supported and encouraged this flavor of work that refocused eugenics on "positive" topics like reproduction and family welfare (though the aims were still focused on controlling reproduction based on racialized notions of superior and inferior "human stock"). Whereas Terman once vehemently advocated for programs of forced sterilization, he now focused on the fecundity of those he considered to be superior. No longer publicly discussing inter-group, race-based differences in intelligence, Terman's later publications (Terman & Oden, 1959) and research projects centered his enormous and overwhelmingly white sample of "geniuses," their accomplishments, challenges, and psychologies, but significantly, their reproductive

capacities[32]. In 1950, Terman outlined a research proposal entitled "Factors Influencing Fertility in a Group of Fourteen Hundred Intellectually Gifted Subjects," and described the many different variables he sought to collect data around: "Number of completed pregnancies to date in the marriage (live births plus still births); Average I.Q. of the offspring of the marriage… History of sterility diagnoses (either spouse)… the martial happiness of each spouse…" (1950b, pp. 1-2), as well as the aforementioned factors related to marital sex. Terman's efforts to refocus his research on reproduction and the maintenance of the "gifted stock" represents a form of crypto-eugenics that differentiated his later work from previous research focused on explicitly racist and eugenic goals.

Aside from Blacker, Terman had at least one other major post-war ally who was very interested in the reproductive capacities of the gifted: C.M. Goethe. Stern's (2005) history of the American Eugenics Movement provides an extensive analysis of C.M. Goethe and his unique brand of eugenics, which she described as, "an eccentric and multipronged eugenic philosophy that integrated nature preservation, immigration restriction, and selective breeding" (p. 135). Goethe was a wealthy businessman, heavily involved in ranching and environmental preservation philanthropy, who helped to form the unique culture of eugenics in California by merging naturalist proclivities with white supremacy. Goethe considered the pioneer stock of white people in California to represent a superlative gene pool because of their frontiersman roots and hardiness, and

[32] In both the 1947 and 1959 final volumes of *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Terman & Oden), the authors described their initial findings regarding the reproductive capacity of the gifted subjects. Ultimately, they fretted, "It is too early to predict the ultimate fertility rate of the gifted group… Whether the present birthrate of 2.4 children per mother will increase sufficiently to equal the 2.8 children per mother required to maintain the stock remains to be seen" (p. 140). The eugenic nature of this section of the volume, as well as the general inquiry into fertility and reproductive capacity of the gifted, might be considered an example of crypto-eugenics. After all, Warne (2019) recently concluded, "I cannot find any mention of eugenic ideas in (Terman's) writings after 1930" (p. 7). What other reason besides eugenic goals would Terman and Oden have shared this preoccupation with birthrates to "maintain the stock"?

worried about maintaining the purity of his ilk. He appears to have been a highly energetic man, who, in addition to running his businesses and ranches, wrote proliferatively, publishing pamphlets and editorials on race inferiority, the evils of Mexican immigration, the importance of redlining policies in Sacramento, and other eugenic principles. Goethe admired the eugenic policies of the Nazis and the influence American eugenicists had on their regime. After he traveled to Germany in 1935, he reported to the president of the Human Betterment Foundation,

> You will be interested to know that your work has played a powerful part in shaping the opinions of the group of intellectuals who are behind Hitler in this epoch-making program. Everywhere I sensed that their opinions have been tremendously stimulated by American thought. I want you, my dear friend, to carry this thought with you for the rest of your life, that you have really jolted into action a great government of 60,000,000 people (Goethe cited in Kuhl, 2002, pp. 57-58).

Like Terman, Goethe belonged to many of the local eugenic organizations, including the Commonwealth Club of California, where it appears he may have first connected with Lewis Terman when the latter applied for membership in 1925 (Goethe, 1925). At that time, Goethe wrote to Terman, "I have been watching your work for many years with the most intense interest. I believe there is hardly anything that one can do more productive of good than just such an effort." He went on to urge Terman to join the eugenics section within the Commonwealth Club and to make a "triplicate request" to ensure he was included. Terman's reply reassured Goethe, "In connection with the work of the Commonwealth Club, I think I shall be most of all interested in its activities in the

line of eugenics" (Terman, 1925b). Signing this letter, "Hoping to become better acquainted with you," Terman and Goethe began a long relationship in pursuing eugenic projects.

In 1947, after presumably many years of acquaintanceship, Goethe wrote to Terman and announced he would be leaving a bequest to Stanford University with the explicit purpose of "acceleration of the birthrate of our Talented" (Goethe, 1947). Terman replied only a few days later with enthusiastic gratitude:

> I can't tell you how happy I am that you have included in your will a bequest to Stanford University… I have long thought that universities could help a little toward accelerating the birthrate among gifted persons by scholarships and fellowships to be awarded to gifted married students, and to be increased by a specified amount by the birth of a child within a given time… in such cases perhaps it should be specified that the student's spouse should also be required to pass some kind of mental ability test with a high score! (Terman, 1947b, p.1).

In this same letter, Terman discussed his ongoing research with the gifted, emphasizing the importance of investigating the "rate of reproductivity" among his gifted group and asked Goethe to consider funding his research, a theme that would repeat consistently throughout the last decade of Terman's life.

In 1950, Terman once again reached out to Goethe requesting funds for his reproduction of the gifted research. He began this letter, "Because of your interest in the fertility of intellectually superior persons and the quality of their offspring, I am sending you the outline of a plan to obtain data on both of these questions" (Terman, 1950a). Several months later Goethe replied that he too was, "struggling toward some kind of

solution toward this particular problem," and added in all caps, "I THINK IT IS OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE THAT THE MATTER SHOULD NOT BE DELAYED SO THAT IT WOULD HAVE THE BENEFIT OF YOUR UNIQUE JUDGEMENT" (Goethe, 1950). Although Goethe repeatedly expressed his sincere interest in Terman's eugenic project concerning the fertility of gifted persons and the quality of their offspring, he once again turned Terman down for specific research funding, citing some sort of tax problem in a postscript.

Goethe often sent Terman copies of his eugenic pamphlets. He described that he created these pamphlets, "to catch the eye of the general public. Since we expect U.S.A. [*sic*] to remain a democracy[33], have we not the task of trying to reach the masses, as much as possible?" (Goethe, 1947). Goethe's pamphlets are written in an odd, almost ranting fashion at times (that remind me of an ideologically inverted version of the old Dr. Bronner's soap label, which proclaimed we are "all one!"). They include erratic punctuation and prevalent use of hyperbole written in all caps. Unlike Blacker, who worked to soften hegemonic discourses within the reformed, postwar eugenics movement in England, Goethe's pamphlets show that in the California context, he was willing to be more forward. In one pamphlet, he penned, "Cannot EXTINCTION stories about Fauna and Flora, even about sanddabs, be valuable because they show a parallel to certain human groups toward EXTINCTION?" (Goethe, ca. 1953, p. 2). These pamphlets asserted that "morons breed like rabbits" (p. 3), whereas highly educated and creative peoples and nations (like France) were under-breeding, evoking the race extinction ideology of the original American Eugenics Movement. In fact, his pamphlets sometimes

[33] Goethe didn't seem to be too enthusiastic about democracy. In a 1949 pamphlet, he asked, "Does not the Greek root "*demos*" smack something of the unthinking Mob?" (p. 16).

explicitly named this theory: "In U.S.A [*sic*] the leadership type goes to college- then race suicides through excessive birth control" (Goethe, ca. 1949, p. 24). He often described the importance of curing the American public of "biological illiteracy" (a euphemism he coined for spreading the eugenic ideology of race degeneration) through the propaganda he generated in these pamphlets.

Terman admired Goethe's pamphlets: "I always appreciate the letters you sent me and especially the always-amazing copies of your eugenics pamphlets" (Terman, 1953b). Yet he sidestepped direct responses to Goethe's often explicitly racist comments in the letters they exchanged. For example, Goethe once wrote to Terman about the discrimination he felt gifted children faced in U.S. society: "I have always felt this was unfair discrimination, just as I did on this tremendous emphasis on negro rights, which I cannot help but feeling is really discrimination against our own white race" (Goethe, 1953). In Terman's reply, he made no response to this comment, but did thank Goethe for nominating him for (and apparently financially contributing to support) the award from the California Historical Society in honor of a life devoted to eugenics (Terman, 1953a).

Despite his concerted efforts, Terman never did seem to succeed in getting Goethe to fund his research into the reproductive capacities of the gifted. In fact, in 1956 a Stanford University librarian wrote to Goethe to let him know that unless he paid a fee for transportation, all of his eugenic pamphlets would be thrown in the trash. In a letter to a graduate student who had requested information from Goethe, he expressed that he believed the "wastebasketing" of his pamphlets implicated disdain for Terman's work: "[T]hinking that they did not appreciate the work of Dr. Terman, I arranged… that a bequest that was to have gone to Stanford was routed to another institution" (Goethe,

1956). Stanford General Secretary, David S. Jacobson, wrote to Terman that, "I could weep bitter tears when something like this happens" (Jacobson, 1956). Terman immediately wrote to Goethe and explained, "I feel sure, however, that the action (disposing of the pamphlets) did not reflect any unfavorable attitude toward my work. I doubt if they even thought of my work in that connection" (Terman, 1956b). Despite the loss of the bequest that was meant to have funded financial rewards for the production of offspring by people with high I.Q. scores at Stanford University, Terman nonetheless mentioned funding his research one last time: "As for the financing of my own work, that has become progressively more difficult as I get older."

What are we to make of Terman's relationship with Goethe and its implications for Terman's involvement in eugenics in the postwar era? It is obvious throughout these letters that Terman was financially motivated to remain connected with Goethe. Perhaps even his admiration for Goethe's pamphlets and other works were merely attempts to flatter him and gain financial support. Nevertheless, Terman had an ally and a potential financial backer in Goethe for his eugenic projects. Even as old men, Terman remembered Goethe's 80th birthday, and Goethe referred to Terman as "my dear Friend" (Goethe, 1955). However, it is interesting that Terman believed that his colleagues would never perceive a connection between his own work and the ideas expressed in Goethe's eugenic pamphlets. In fact, R.C. Swank, director of the Stanford University Libraries, expressed this same perception, "I cannot imagine how Mr. Goethe interpreted the library's action as a reflection upon your work, but he evidently did" (Swank, 1956, p.1). Goethe's pamphlets expressed many of the same ideas that undergirded Terman's concern with the reproductive capacity of the gifted. He clearly believed that so-called

gifted people should be encouraged to reproduce at an accelerated rate, and even should be financially rewarded for having children. Terman likewise carried this belief throughout the last years of his life. Yet Goethe's pamphlets were often explicitly racist, classist, and ableist. Terman may have been motivated to publicly distance himself from these unfavorable discourses, as Blacker did. Goethe, however, saw no such distinction between their views, and thus took offense on behalf of Terman when his pamphlets were thrown away.

After Terman's death, his legacy was questionable: he had written and published many openly racist, classist, and otherwise terribly offensive opinions in both academic and lay publications throughout the first several decades of the 20th century. Yet, like Blacker, he radically transformed his discourse under the shadow and aftermath of the Nazi regime, both publicly and for the most part, privately, while forwarding a reformed eugenic agenda concerned with enhancing fertility and reproductivity of "superior" persons. After his death, Ernest Hilgard (1957) published an obituary of Terman that began the tidying up process of his eugenic legacy. Hilgard was concerned that Terman's advocacy for the "intellectually elite" would result in a negative opinion of Terman. Hilgard drew from a few obscure resources to suggest that by the end of his life, Terman had reformed his racist (and other hegemonic) views. He cited a note in the margin of one of Terman's manuscripts:

> At the time of the autobiography (1932) he had written his belief "That the major differences between children of high and low I.Q., and the major differences in the intelligence test-scores of certain races, as Negroes and whites, will never be fully accounted for on the environment hypothesis." But in his personal copy

> there is a penciled circle around the mention of Negroes and whites, tied to notes in his handwriting in the margin: "I am less sure of this now (1951)! And still less sure (1955)! -L. M. T." (p. 478).

Does Terman's attitude of "less sure" about the genetic inferiority of Black people *really* represent some sort of antiracist transformation? Ostensibly, in a private letter to Pastore, Terman wrote, "Nothing disturbs me more than our widespread racial and religious discrimination" (Terman cited in Pastore, cited in Hilgard, 1957, p. 478). Hilgard also cites an unpublished manuscript written in 1948 in which Terman advocated for "the promotion of social justice, mutual understanding, racial tolerance, and the equalization of opportunity" (Terman cited in Hilgard, 1957, p. 478)

These faint gestures of Terman's (if, in fact, they are true) seem paltry compared to his lifelong work building programs, theories, practices, and research which in every way subverted social justice, racial tolerance and the equalization of opportunity. Despite Terman's few and obscure humanitarian statements and doubts about white supremacy, scribbled in margins and mentioned in an unpublished manuscript and a private, untraceable letter, he sustained his eugenic projects, memberships, collegial relationships, and beliefs. Nonetheless, Hilgard's biography set the stage for an unremitting effort to preserve Terman's legacy for the posterity of gifted education and intelligence research. Two years after Hilgard's obituary, Boring (1959) released a biographical memoir of Lewis Terman's life. In this piece, Boring completely scrubbed all of Terman's involvement with eugenics from the record: there is not a single mention of the word in the entire document. Furthermore, he carried forward Hilgard's assertion that Terman came to a liberal and humanitarian view of race difference by the end of his life. Boring

cited Hilgard's description of the note Terman penned in the margins of his work, quoted above, that he was "less sure" now that Black people were genetically inferior to whites.

As I described at the beginning of this section, Terman is still represented in these ways within historiography written by some scholars. There continues to be little to no mention of his "lifelong devotion to eugenics," as the California Historical Society dubbed him in 1953, which Terman gratefully accepted as an honor (Terman, 1953a). The myth that we should uphold Terman's work because he disavowed his original racism and other eugenic assertions in the end is just that: a myth. Terman appears to have been very careful about his language in the post-war era. A few times, he expressed support for social justice and for racial tolerance (according to Hilgard, 1957), but these were likely performances meant to reposition him for posterity. The historical and archival record shows that he continued to be deeply tied to racist eugenicists, accepting and requesting funding from them; allowing them to publish his work to spread their eugenic propaganda; keeping racist, eugenic pamphlets in the Stanford library (until they were thrown away, that is); all while forwarding his own eugenic project with the goal of increasing reproduction of the gifted so that their offspring could function as the ruling class—nothing short of the master race.

The obfuscation of this history in Greenfield. Stakeholders in Greenfield who expressed their concern that that the gifted have special emotional and learning needs that may not be met as a result of detracking constructed "gifted kids" in a very particular way. They unknowingly indexed the legacy of Terman and other eugenic founders of gifted education. These educators may not have understood the history of eugenics in gifted education and its implications for empirical claims such as the special needs of

"the gifted." The effect of the obscurity of this significant history and the preservation of the concept of "giftedness" causes this eugenic category to reify in the present. Despite the innovative work of antiracist and dynamic theorists (e.g., Lo et al., 2019) who have sought to subvert this conception of a hereditary, fixed capacity for intelligence, Terman's original theorizing of giftedness and its racist undertones continues to actualize in systems. Those at Greenfield who pushed back against the detracking initiative evoked this conceptualization of giftedness through their use of the term "gifted kids," which implies a class of superior individuals. The concept that the gifted have special emotional and learning needs indexes a historical continuity based in the work of Terman and Hollingworth: this unique class of superior individuals have special needs because of their genetic superiority and the psychological suffering produced by learning in desegregated environments. Yet few see the connection to the original eugenic foundations of these beliefs.

The obscuring and marginalization of the history of eugenics in gifted education has functioned to preserve these foundational tenets. Because present day actors in school systems are unaware of such histories, they are trapped in them (Baldwin, 1984), and continue to reproduce systems that were built by hegemonic ideology and scientific racism. Detracking in Greenfield posed an immediate threat to the preservation of this hidden ideology at work in the school district. Without separate spaces and special tracks to maintain the segregation of superior students, how on earth would their special emotional and learning needs be met? Although there are many other factors of systemic racism and white supremacy that undergird the minority of resistance to Greenfield's racial equity detracking plan, a lack of deep, critical understanding of the history of gifted

education allows such empirical claims to be wielded in resistance to an equity-based detracking effort.

Conclusion

While Bonilla-Silva's (2014) concept of color-blind racism is extremely helpful in understanding the shifts in discourses that took place within gifted education after World War II and the ways in which racist and eugenic ideologies went underground in the field, I believe historiography represents another layer of this "new racism." First of all, it seems that the new racism was an emergence that took place over a longer period of time than Bonilla-Silva suggests. Du Bois' (1899) description of micro- and macro-aggressions in Philadelphia, underpinned by performances of racial tolerance, resonate with some of the color-blind discourses Bonilla-Silva has highlighted. The ways in which whites have come to perform a kind of antiracism while continuing to forward racist and hegemonic projects can also be seen in the shifting discourses of eugenic societies in the 1930s. Many complex social and political interactive power dynamics framed this period of history during which the Nazi regime demonstrated the ultimate actualization of eugenic ideologies. This seems to have promoted a performance of racial tolerance among those who championed deeply racist projects. Did their beliefs actually change as a result of the example of Nazism? The historical record indicates that for those individuals I've highlighted, its unlikely.

Finally, the obscuring of racist histories in and of itself is a technology of colorblind racism. Those who were and still are implicitly affiliated with Lewis Terman's legacy have a lot to lose if he is depicted in light of his lifelong devotion to eugenics. New racism shows up in the more recent historiography of gifted education, which

acknowledges and condemns Terman's (and other founders') racist, classist, ableist or otherwise hegemonic beliefs, yet also suggests that we can set aside those facts and focus on the "good things" they did. Furthermore, it also seems like mining this history has direct implications for theories and practices today. I've had a hard time finding contemporary historiography that raises the question I have asked through this dissertation: What are the historical *continuities* between the foundational eugenic tenets of gifted education and present-day practices? Bonilla-Silva (2014) wrote that, "color-blind racism forms an elastic ideological wall that barricades whites off from America's racial reality…An elastic wall—and hence a stronger one—because this ideology does not rely on absolutes" (p. 305). This kind of racism may have positioned some gifted education scholars and practitioners, like some of those in Greenfield, to claim antiracist stances without changing beliefs and subsequent practices that continue to forward the eugenic cause in education. The elastic wall preserves the status quo of hegemonic practices and structures while allowing complicit actors to position themselves as antiracists. I believe this is accomplished, at least in part, by the obscuration of the hegemonic history of the field. And I believe, again at least in part, that the cure is to bring the history to light and to recognize the way it functions in our systems. In this way, perhaps, we will no longer be trapped in history, as Baldwin (1984) described, nor, perhaps, will history be trapped in us.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

A Chance at Changing the Future

The aim of this dissertation has been to provoke the possibility of thinking differently about social injustices in gifted education by excavating the genealogical roots of these structures, practices, and deeply held beliefs in Greenfield Public Schools, and likely elsewhere in the U.S. school system. McWhorter (2010) has described the rationale for using historical research to produce these sorts of critical goals: "Genealogical exhumation of the ways our thinking was shaped, its predecessors, its differences from its own past that it often tries to pass off as inevitabilities rather than options, can help us think differently" (p. 80). This is the very reason I pursued this research: I wanted to learn to think differently and to perhaps help others who are concerned with inequities driven through gifted education to think differently, too. I do not believe the future is inevitable, or that history is doomed to repeat itself. Yet I also have found that unexamined histories have the power to continue reifying their hegemonic goals (both internally, in terms of beliefs, and externally, in terms of systems). Not all scholars agree that such an exploration of the past can help us to think differently in order to intentionally shape the future.

Hayden White (1966), quoting the German poet Gottfried Benn, spotlighted the ahistorical fatalism often assumed in discussions regarding history's relevance to the present:

> I am struck by the thought that it might be more revolutionary and worthier of a vigorous and active man to teach his fellow man this simple truth: You are what you are and you will never be different; this is, was, and always will be your life.

> He who has money, lives long; he who has authority, can do no wrong; he who has might, establishes right. Such is history! Ecce historia! Here is the present; take of its body, eat, and die (Benn, n.d., as cited in White, 1966, p. 120).

Contrast Benn's stance on the relevance of history with Eve Ewing's (2018) statement that,

> By studying how social systems have arisen over time, we can see not only how things are now, but how they could be otherwise. The present is not inevitable; things have come to be as we know them through human actors. If we understand the genesis of our present, we have a chance of changing the future (p. 57).

Unlike Benn (as cited in White, 1966), Ewing (2018) emphasized that the study of history is essential to changing the future and centered human agency in her ontological understanding of historiography. In my own life, discovering the hidden history of gifted education profoundly changed the ways in which I conceptualized giftedness, human intelligence, human potential, and the purpose of school. Not only can history help us see how things have come to be as *not* inevitable, but it also helps us tell new stories about who we are, where we have come from, and what we could become. And stories are powerful drivers of action and change. This is even more so the case when we collectively reinterpret our past to better understand the future we are trying to build. The stories we tell become the schemas by which we form our cultural worlds (Holland et al, 1998), our collective ways of being and ways of knowing. I believe we can do more with the present than "take of its body, eat, and die" (Benn as cited in White, 1966, p.120). By bringing histories into a present-moment dialogue with unjust institutions, we can seed the future with the possibility of liberation.

In this final chapter, I have considered the implications of this research in terms of the future. I have begun by reviewing and summarizing the key findings and analyses described in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. I then discussed the implications of this research in terms of new perspectives these analyses may offer to the body of literature concerned with social injustice in gifted education and racialized tracking. I moved on to describe the possibilities this research suggests for the future. I specifically highlighted possibilities for educational practice, such as structural transformation and professional learning through engagement with critical histories. Finally, I closed this chapter with some suggestions for future research within gifted education, and especially, antiracist action, critical praxis and broadened methodological approaches to antiracist research.

Review of Findings

There is a lot of data presented in this dissertation, including both ethnographic themes and historical narratives, which I have knit together using theoretical lenses to reveal historical continuities. In the following, I have summarized these three elements of my research to provide both a comprehensive review of these findings and analyses to clearly illustrate the interrelated nature of these different data sets (i.e., ethnographic and historical). These diverse data sets could be unwieldy, but I have worked to visualize them as fiber from distinct sources that can be woven into a coherent narrative. To continue with my fiber arts metaphor, I have imagined these elements as a quilt that has brought together past and present and joined them with the threads of theory. In Table 2 each of these "patchworks" (i.e., ethnographic themes, historical narratives) and "threads" (i.e., analytical lenses) can be seen in relation to the analysis chapter and the research question that was explored.

Table 2.

Summary of Chapter Numbers and Corresponding Research Questions, Ethnographic Themes, Historical Narratives, and Analytical Lenses

Chapter and Research Questions	Ethnographic Themes	Historical Narratives	Analytical Lens
Chapter 4: How do GPS stakeholders conceptualize human intelligence, giftedness, and advanced/gifted programming in relation to the larger history of gifted education?	• Giftedness is exceptional ability • Giftedness is innate, born, inherited • Giftedness confused by nature vs. nurture • Giftedness is demonstrated through ability testing	• Eugenic classifications of ability (Galton, 1865, 1873, 1908, 1925) • Eugenic hereditarianism (Terman, 1916, 1822, 1925, 1931, 1932, 1951) • Environmental vs. hereditarian debate (Dewey, 1922a, 1922b; Terman, 1916) • Eugenic scientization of giftedness through mental testing (Terman, 1916)	• Normalization (Foucault, 1995) • Power/Knowledge (Foucault, 1980, 1990, 1995) • Power/Relations (1990, 1995, 2000, 2004) • Disciplinary Time (1995)
Chapter 5: How have historically situated ideologies shaped systems, structures and services for gifted education in terms of racialization	• Racial segregation through GT/AA • Whiteness in ability testing • Racialized rituals of the GT pull-out • Gifted space as white space	• The eugenic racial hierarchy of intelligence (Terman, 1916, 1922a; and Hollingworth, 1926) • The legacy of *g*/general intelligence theory (Hart & Spearman, 1912; Spearman, 1904) • The special classes for mental deviates	• Permanence of racism (Bell, 1993) • Whiteness as property (Harris, 1993) • Interest convergence (Bell, 1980)

Chapter and Research Questions	Ethnographic Themes	Historical Narratives	Analytical Lens
and racial segregation?		(Hollingworth, 1923, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939) • The Diversity Discourses of Hollingworth (1940, Hollingworth & Whitty, 1940)	
Chapter 6: What role do historically rooted power dynamics play in the racial transformation initiative process within GPS related to GT and advanced academics?	• Coded discourses of white supremacy: o "Won't putting all the kids in GT/AA water down the rigor…?" o "How does talent development support kids who can't read?" o "Gifted kids have special learn and emotional needs. How will these needs be met with this new plan?"	• Second generation segregation post-Brown v. Board (Baker, 2001; Minow, 1990; Porter, 2017a; Porter, 2017b, Porter, 2018) • Post-War eugenic discourses of Lewis Terman (1947a, 1947b, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1951, 1952, 1953a, 1953b, 1956a, 1956b)	• New racism and discourses of colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014)

In Chapter 4, I described four ethnographic themes that emerged in my data from Greenfield Public Schools related to definitions for and understandings of "gifted and talented," the terminology used to describe "giftedness" in GPS. These included the

understandings that giftedness is: exceptional ability, innate (i.e., individuals are born with the capacity for certain abilities); confused by conceptions of nature and nurture (i.e., individuals may be born with certain abilities or they may develop them through "nurture"; it is unclear which is true or how influential nature is verses nurture); demonstrated through mental testing. To each of these themes I related the historical narratives I constructed from the work of: Francis Galton (1908, 1869/1922) concerning his ranked hierarchy of intelligence and his theory of the heritability of intelligence and "natural ability"; Lewis Terman (1916, 1925) whose research into the hereditarian nature of giftedness mirrored Galton's methods, as well as his innovation and establishment of mental testing as the prime authority on mental ability; and John Dewey (1922a, 1922b) who presented a democratic and environmentalist interpretation of intelligence which he leveraged to resist the hegemonic discourses of Terman and other hereditarians. I stitched these historical narratives together with the ethnographic themes to explore ideological historical continuities using Foucauldian theories of power (Foucault, 1980, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2004).

The findings I presented in Chapter 4 established what I see as the most foundational and deeply embedded structures that maintain hegemony within and through gifted education. Namely, conceptions of human intelligence, ability, and potential. I did not explicitly address systemic racism in this chapter, but I worked to reveal the historical continuities I discovered in my data which underlined the durability of eugenic conceptions of intelligence. Specifically, the idea that intelligence is fixed, heritable, or genetically conferred remained a discourse in GPS among some participants, and furthermore, the system of identifying and labeling students as gifted and talented reified

these ideologies. While there was also a struggle to enact democratic values and environmental (or nurture-oriented) conceptions of intelligence, they remained just that: a struggle. The fixed notion of "giftedness" wasn't structurally interrupted until the racial equity transformation process was enacted toward the end of 2021, a process led by the GT Design Team members. Although I can only speculate based on my own lived experience and review of scholarly writing on this topic, as well as racial and other demographic statistics of underrepresentation in GT programs, it is likely that conceptions of giftedness in other school districts are similarly rooted in these ideological historical continuities, at least among some stakeholders. Furthermore, the genetic nature of intelligence continues to shape a raging debate in genetic research and sociogenomic engineering (Bliss, 2012, 2018). In my opinion, the sociohistorical contextualization of conceptions of intelligence represents *the most foundational* work of antiracist praxis in gifted education. These durable ideological continuities appear extremely difficult to disrupt because they represent a cultural model of giftedness that has stood the test of time. By revealing the eugenic roots of at least some facets of these conceptualizations of intelligence, we can begin to think of children and their intellectual potential in a whole new way.

In Chapter 5, I took up racism and racialization in gifted education by centering the research question posed by the Greenfield youth interns: "Why aren't students of color already in advanced and gifted classes?" The themes I presented revealed the systems, structures and services for gifted education that produced both racialization and racial segregation. These included: whiteness in ability testing, racialized rituals of the GT pull-out, gifted spaces as white spaces, and racial segregation in GT and advanced

academics. Historical narratives that sociohistorically located these themes included: Hollingworth's (1926) and Terman's (1916, 1922a) writing on the racial hierarchy of intelligence; Hollingworth's (1923, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939) extensive work innovating some of the original systems and structures for gifted education; and Hollingworth's (1940, Hollingworth & Whitty, 1940) diversity discourses, published toward the end of her life. I used analytical lenses from Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1980, 1991, 1993; Harris, 1993) to connect the present with the past by revealing the permanence of racism through ideological and structural continuities. I also underscored how interest convergence (Bell, 1980) explains that slight nod to including *some* students of color in GT, yet also how such an approach tokenizes Black and Brown students who are often racially isolated among a sea of white students.

Although this chapter examined some of the more obvious ways in which racialization was explicitly forwarded by Hollingworth (1926) and Terman (1916, 1922a), it also presented some complexities revealed in historical documents. Histories are idiosyncratic, pieced together from available evidence (which is why diverse interpretations are perennial in the discipline), and constitute both historical change and historical continuities. It would be an over simplification of the legacy of eugenics in gifted education to present only Hollingworth's and Terman's racist discourses produced before the 1930s. As public sentiment around expressions of racism shifted with the rise of the Third Reich and the threat of another world war, both Terman and Hollingworth began to write differently. I attempted to underscore the ways in which the change in Hollingworth's (1940, Hollingworth & Whitty, 1940) discourses were likely more performative than a sincere revision of her previous theories. This kind of performance

represents a pivotal mechanism through which historically rooted, racist ideologies continue to live out in our systems. They become wolves dressed in sheep's clothing. Till her dying day, Hollingworth continued to assert the eugenic conceptions of giftedness, including the heritable nature of intelligence, meritocratic conceptions of giftedness and assertions that the gifted should essentially be thought of as the ruling class. Yet in her very last years, she softened her rhetoric around race. She included a few Black and Brown students in the Speyer School as well as minoritized ethnic whites, and published an article with a colleague (Hollingworth & Whitty, 1940) that suggested Black people really could be gifted, perhaps in just the same way that whites could be, and the matter should be researched further. In my analysis using critical race theory (Bell, 1991, 1993), this represented a discursive shift, *not* a paradigm shift. Hollingworth softened the racist edges around giftedness that she helped to define. In a way, these actions supported the continuation of the dominance of whiteness in gifted education by including *a few* Black and Brown students to better define gifted education in opposition to racist, Nazi ideologies.

This rhetorical pivot, an example of interest convergence (Bell, 1980), was explored in much greater depth in Chapter 6. In this chapter, I used themes identified by the members of the GT Design Team and expressed as statements and/or questions they heard from predominantly white stakeholders who resisted the racial equity transformation plan in GPS. I analyzed three of these themes, including: "Won't putting all the kids in GT/AA water down the rigor…?"; "How does talent development support kids who can't read?"; "Gifted kids have special learning and emotional needs. How will these needs be met with this new plan?" To each of these, I related historiography and

historical narratives concerning discourses in gifted education during the Civil Rights Era. I used Bonilla Silva's (2014) theories of new racism and colorblind racism to analyze the discursive shifts that increasingly buried the eugenic ideologies of gifted education in layers of politically correct, democratic, anti-communist, anti-racist, semantic complexities. Ironically, this phase of history served to deeply entrench the structurally racist components of the original eugenic ideologies of gifted education through second generation segregation (Meier et al.,1989; Welner & Oakes, 1996) maintained via racialized tracking in predominantly white and/or racially mixed schools during a period of time when it became theoretically illegal.

By working with Bonilla-Silva's (2014) theory of new racism, my analysis revealed that this phase of history represents the time in which eugenic ideologies in gifted education went underground. I applied this notion to the last phase of Lewis Terman's career in which he continued to pursue eugenic projects, but within a reformed framework for eugenics, especially as constructed by Blacker (1952b). I returned to my critique of some of the historiography of Terman, which asserted that he may have or probably did change his mind about all that eugenic stuff (Crosby & Hastorf, 2000; Leslie, 2000, Rudnitski, 1997; Warne 2019). In my analysis, I see these historical narratives as extremely problematic because they foreclose the opportunity to perceive the slippery, sly ways in which eugenic ideologies have shape-shifted and become obscured to those of us enacting their systems today. Lewis Terman remained devoted to eugenics throughout his professional career, right up until the bitter end. The evidence I found that revealed this also shows that eugenics was so much more than a hegemonic sterilization project. It was a project that defined human intelligence within a strict

hierarchy, scientized it, racialized it, and used this work to articulate policy and practice for education. Although most educators have little knowledge of this legacy, its effects and systems are nearly ubiquitous. The discursive changes I analyzed and described in Chapter 6 represent the most insidious and dangerous legacy of eugenics in gifted education because they have hidden the origins of these ideologies in our practices.

Research Implications

This research contributes to the literature on racialized tracking and hegemonic productions of gifted education by drawing out the historical continuities (and historical changes in terms of discursive shifts over time) that have led us to these present challenges around systemic racism. Furthermore, by examining the ways in which historically rooted power dynamics continue to shape inequities in our systems, I have worked to underscore the role of whiteness and white supremacy in maintaining the hegemonic order through gifted education. Specific contributions this research has offered include: challenges to definitions of giftedness, a reframing of the diversity initiative in gifted education as interest convergence (Bell, 1980), and a continued conversation concerning second generation segregation (Meier et al.,1989; Welner & Oakes, 1996) in terms of the role gifted education played in maintaining segregation during the Civil Rights Era. Each is described in the following.

My research has presented a direct challenge to some beliefs and definitions of giftedness that express it as a life-long diagnosis— the "once gifted, always gifted" administrative approach to labeling and tracking through gifted education. Definitions of giftedness vary widely and the filed has agreed on no single definition (perhaps at least partially because of the unsettled debates between hereditarian and environmentalist

perceptions of giftedness) (Carman, 2013; Cramond, 2004; McBee & Makel, 2019; Smedsrud, 2020). Practically though, the labeling and tracking that gifted education often produces in education systems reifies the diagnostic (and thus hereditarian) legacy of giftedness. More contemporary and theoretically sophisticated conceptions of intelligence and human potential (e.g., Lo et al., 2019; Sternberg, 2015) challenge the authority of deterministic theories of intelligence. In other words, by recognizing that fixed and innate conceptions of intelligence are a eugenic legacy, we can all instead ask ourselves, how can we ever know the outer limit of what any individual child could someday become or do? As parents, educators, guardians, and caretakers, the capacity of children and youth to *develop* talents and abilities remains an open question that empowers us all to hold the highest expectations for each individual and to honor their unique interests, passions, curiosities, and *innate,* uniquely-oriented, senses of wonder. Furthermore, as Dewey (1922a) once instructed, we have the responsibility to challenge the ways in which we privilege certain achievements over others. If math and science skills were all that mattered, we would have no need for humanitarians, diplomats, peacemakers, artists, artisans, craftspeople, elders, and skilled workers of all kinds (for all workers have skills that require complex forms of intelligence, including embodied skills; see Rose, 2005). These roles are what bring meaning, purpose, peace and sustainability to our world, in addition to the innovations and insights produced by mathematicians and scientists. A democracy thrives through diversity (Dewey, 1922b).

My analysis has also challenged the diversity initiative in gifted education. Through stories such as Gale's and the experiences shared by the GPS youth interns and their interviewees (described in Chapter 5), it is clear that the inclusion of an extreme

minority of students of color in GT produces harmful, tokenizing experiences for many. In her book, *Integration Interrupted,* Tyson (2011) described that Black students in predominantly white or racially diverse schools experienced terrible isolation and exclusion from Black peer groups, and accusations of "acting white" because of high academic achievement, but did not have these experiences in predominantly Black and Brown schools. As Ford and her colleagues have asserted (Ford et al., 2020), the diversity initiative needs to become the desegregation initiative. It is not enough to represent "diversity" with a few Black and Brown faces. So long as these spaces are dominated by whiteness (not only in terms of white students and teachers, but also in terms of white culture and white curriculum), students of color will continue to be marginalized.

While the field of gifted education has paid a great deal of attention to measurement protocols that may increase the representation of students of color (and other students from educationally marginalized groups), very little attention has been paid to the role of whiteness, white supremacy and white norms and values in terms of curriculum in GT and advanced academics spaces. For many students in GPS, the exclusiveness of white "cliques" and the sense of non-belonging, alongside the whiteness of the curriculum, were the main sources of pain and harm. It is certainly possible that this was the case for the few Black students present in Hollingworth's Speyer School, who may have felt just as tokenized and racially isolated in these predominantly white spaces and in the context of a deeply racist, 1930s era New York City public school system. Although many of the "ethnic whites" who were included would also have been marginalized, and the racial dynamics may have been far more complex, Black and

Brown students were still placed at the bottom of the racial intelligence hierarchy (and almost every other hierarchy in American life; Roediger, 2019).

Finally, my research has added to the literature on second generation segregation (Meier et al.,1989; Welner & Oakes, 1996) by considering the role which gifted education played in supporting ability testing and the production of racialized tracking to keep white students and students of color apart in desegregated schools. Building off the work of Porter (2017a, 2017b, 2018), it was fairly clear that the emphasis on individual differences (as opposed to the emphasis on intergroup differences that characterized gifted/intelligence research during the era of the American Eugenics Movement) helped to usher in a new phase of colorblind discourse in gifted education. The specific claim that I have made is that this era allowed for the obscuration of the legacy of eugenics in the field, a point I illustrated by highlighting historiography concerning the legacy of Lewis Terman, arguably gifted education's most famous and widely recognized founding scholar. This shift in discourse, which allowed eugenic ideologies to go underground, is at least partially responsible for the lack of interrogation of hegemonic beliefs and practices in gifted education.

I was recently challenged by a scholar of gifted education to explain the manner in which the historical continuities I have asserted are carried forward throughout time. I asked, "Do you mean the mechanism of historical continuity?" Although this particular scholar edged away from my question, I kept thinking about it. What is the mechanism of historical continuity? In other words, why are certain historically rooted, racist and/or hegemonic ideologies so durable? Hopefully, my answer has been this dissertation and the analyses I have presented. While this question is enormous and has been explored by

many historiographers and social scientists, through my data and process of analysis I came to see that one of the ways in which historical ideologies are carried forward is through the obscuration of the historical context in which they were first expressed. Over time, and as discourses changed to fit prevailing cultural norms and values, the ideologies themselves seemed to become sedimented in the same way that silt in a river has a tendency to sink and disappear until the construction of a dam or a particularly severe drought reveals these original substances. If we don't know where ideas, systems and practices come from, or we are told only one side of the story, we may never interrogate them. In the next section, I have made suggestions for future research and practice that can help to bring this silt to the surface and empower us individually and collectively to see the forces that have shaped our systems and internalized beliefs.

Where Do We Go from Here?

Throughout my dissertation research and writing process, I have felt some pressure to arrive at a definitive solution for the problem of racism in gifted education. However, the further I have gone down this rabbit hole, consulting as many diverse perspectives as I could, the more I have come to see the error of suggesting one solution over another. There are many solutions to the issues in gifted education that I have discussed throughout this dissertation, and in the following, I have explored several of them in the spirit of recommending areas for future research *and practice*. Unfortunately, research sometimes has a way of failing to be practical and can easily get stuck in the echo chamber of the academy. My data revealed that even though more dynamic practices and beliefs have arisen out of gifted education (e.g., Ford, 2010; Ford et al., 2020; Lo et al., 2019), they did not translate to the context of practice in GPS. Thus, I

have emphasized implications from my research in terms of future directions for practice, followed by some suggestions concerning areas for future research.

Areas for Future Practice: The Upstream/Downstream Parable

How do we actually break free from the systems and practices that the legacy of eugenics and scientific racism in gifted education have produced? Ideas about such solutions are varied, but generally fall into two camps. On the one hand are scholars who fiercely advocate to detrack and dismantle gifted education and advanced academics programs; they have produced a great deal of research evidence to suggest this is a good choice if racial equity is the goal (e.g., Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Brooks et al., 2013; Burris & Garrity, 2008; Kalogrides & Loeb, 2013; Oakes, 1986, 1990, 1995; Tienda, 2013). On the other hand, some scholars of color in gifted education (Ford et al., 2021) advocate just as adamantly *not to dismantle* gifted education programs, but rather, to desegregate them (Ford 1995, 2003, 2014; Ford & King, 2014; Ford et al., 2020). It seemed to me that one had to choose a specific position in relation to dismantlement: detrack, or maintain tracking but desegregate the tracks. That is, until I considered the upstream/downstream parable (McKinlay, 1979).

I have read this parable in a couple different pieces, but I like the way that Tyson (2011) described it:

> (In) a village called Downstream… (the) inhabitants for years contended with the problem of spotting people being swept along in the river. At first the village was so ill-equipped to deal with the problem that most of the people caught in the currents drowned. However, over time, the village's response to the crisis improved and many lives were saved. The villagers built a hospital close to the

> river; they had many expert swimmers living in the village, ready to respond when victims were seen; and they had a fleet of boats on hand for the rescues… And while the costs were enormous, the villagers were proud of their system and pleased that they were able to save so many lives. The fable ends with this passage: "Oh, a few people in Downstream have raised the question now and again, but most folks show little interest about what's happening Upstream. It seems there's so much to do to help those in the river, that nobody's got time to check how all those bodies are getting there in the first place. That's the way things are sometimes." (p. 164).

What is the lesson of this parable for gifted education? In a discussion with some of my colleagues, we applied this parable to the context of education. We wondered, is it possible to continue saving people in the river while also addressing what is happening Upstream to cause these people to fall or be thrown in the river? We felt that the villagers couldn't simply abandon the folks in the river who might die while they address what's happening Upstream. At the same time, they absolutely had to find a way to address what was happening Upstream. We decided: you have to find a way to do both simultaneously. In the following, I have described the possibilities for antiracist action in gifted education in terms of this Upstream/Downstream parable.

Upstream: Detrack

Many scholars argue that the root cause of educational inequality and racial inequity is tracking (Anderson & Oakes, 2014; Brooks et al., 2013; Burris & Garrity, 2008; Kalogrides & Loeb, 2013; Oakes, 1986, 1990, 1995; Tienda, 2013). Although many educators no longer think of gifted education and advanced academics as tracking

per se (another semantic move of new racism), they often function in this way by maintaining the same core group of students in advanced or rigorous learning programs from elementary through high school (Crabtree et al., 2019; Hinojosa et al., 2009; Klopfenstein, 2004). Not only does this system of sorting syphon off educational rigor, denying unselected students the opportunities to receive a high-expectation-driven curriculum (Burris & Garrity, 2008; Burris et al., 2009), but tracking has also been shown to profoundly affect learner identities (Tyson, 2011) and teachers' perceptions of students (Kelly & Carbonaro, 2012). Schools and school systems that have detracked in the U.S. and abroad have often shown remarkable closures of achievement gaps between educationally marginalized and more privileged groups (Burris et al., 2009; Woessmann, 2009). By setting up systems in which some students are given rigorous learning opportunities while other students receive a "regular" curriculum, the opportunity to stretch toward high expectations is disallowed. Ironically, this approach tends to maintain racial and other inequities in academic achievement over time (Mickelson & Everett, 2008). Even ability grouping in reading, a seemingly universal feature in elementary classrooms, has been shown to maintain disparate achievement outcomes over time between white students and students of color, whereas whole group reading instruction had the opposite effect (Lleras & Rangel, 2009).

These findings can seem very counterintuitive to educators in the U.S. system. Very few of us have experienced detracked educational systems, and furthermore, isn't it logical that if students need help in reading or math, they would benefit from remedial programs?

It is an irony of the system that such targeted supports *can* produce the opposite of their stated goals, which are usually to help students "catch up" to grade level standards. However, detracked curricula that includes high expectations and rigor when paired with high interest, cultural and linguistic relevance, and appropriate (as opposed to marginalizing) skills support and differentiation often produces better outcomes in terms of equity (Burris et al., 2008; Tienda, 2013). Special education scholars have long advocated for the inclusion of students with disabilities in core curriculum for this reason (Copeland & Cosbey, 2008). There are many examples throughout the U.S. of school systems that have produced results after eliminating tracked programs that separate rigorous, challenging curriculum from "regular" curriculum (Carter & Welner, 2013). And research has also shown that students who had been served in tracked gifted/advanced classes continue to achieve at high levels in detracked settings (Rui, 2009).

A great example of detracking that I often recommend to educators because of its practice-friendly style is described in Carol Buris's book *Detracking for Excellence and Equity* (Burris & Garrity, 2008). Burris, who was the superintendent of Rockville Public Schools in upstate New York, described how her school district built a grassroots movement that developed support for detracking among educators and parents over time through a gradual approach to democratizing gifted education and dismantling tracking at the secondary level. They began at the elementary level by eliminating exclusive gifted programs for identified students and instead, provided project-based, talent development programs based on interest in which *all students participated.* Eventually, they dramatically reduced tracking at the secondary level and, pivotally, they made advanced

coursework the default enrollment option (i.e., students and their families had to opt out of advanced courses). Differentiation and skills support were also provided and data were continuously presented to the community to demonstrate the strong outcomes of these approaches for both educationally marginalized and privileged students. The results were incredible: Rockville schools dramatically closed racial achievement gaps on almost every measure. Before detracking, only 32% of Black and Latinx students earned a prestigious New York State Regents Diploma (a credential used to support college admission), whereas 82% of students from these groups earned the diploma after detracking (Burris & Welner, 2005).

Based on this research, it is fairly clear that tracking represents an Upstream source of inequity in the U.S. education system (there are, of course, many other significant forces in the Upstream location as well that contribute to systematic racism). Achievement gaps that begin in the primary grades often grow worse as students age in tracked systems (Kuhfeld et al., 2018; Lleras & Rangel, 2009). Disrupting tracked systems to provide access to rigorous learning experiences requires of educators that they have faith in a child's potential and that they displace internalized, hegemonic conceptions of innate intelligence, often tacitly placed along a continuum of racial hierarchy, dysconiously perceived by stakeholders. This is a tall order in the U.S., but not impossible. It has been done and therefore, it can be done again and again. However, not every antiracist educator believes this is the solution, nor the Upstream root cause of racial inequity.

Downstream: Desegregate

In the context of gifted education, the most obvious "downstream" effect of systemic racism is the underrepresentation of students of color and other educationally marginalized groups in advanced learning tracks. Presenting a challenge to "the Upstreamers," who have asserted that detracking is the way to stem the tide of racial inequity, Ford et al. (2021) emphatically warned that dismantling gifted education is not the solution to this problem. For these scholars, giftedness itself remains a viable, empirical category and the dismantlement of gifted programs will only further marginalize gifted Black and Latinx students who have been historically denied access to rigorous learning. Referring to the current wave of concern about racial inequity produced through gifted education, the authors wrote,

> In recent years, mainly due to the political and racial climate in America, new school leaders at state and local levels… have begun to study the inequitable conditions in GATE (gifted and talented education) and related programs and decided to correct the discriminatory conditions… [S]uch programs are being dismantled, threatened with withdrawal of funds, and threatened with litigation. While we applaud efforts to scrutinize identification practices and admissions policies, we are concerned that, in modifying policies, the needs of gifted and talented Black students are left out of the conversation regarding authentic changes. Furthermore, we are concerned that Black GATE scholars are not consulted or asked to serve on Advisory Councils that make decisions to change policy. Indeed, it is equitable to change policies as a way to increase accessibility, but we do not endorse or condone dismantling GATE programs and services (p. 176).

Ford and her colleagues asserted the importance of access to gifted education by opening up admissions and especially, continuing to fund such programs for students who are often most dependent on public funding.

While my own analysis has interrogated and critiqued the concept of giftedness as an empirical or diagnostic category, their point is well taken. Tracking is a technical system, but it is upheld by white supremacy and tacitly racist ideologies (i.e., such as the racial hierarchy of intelligence). Although the examples of detracking I described had positive effects for students of color by providing access to advanced and rigorous programs, not all attempts to detrack via the dismantlement of gifted education and advanced academics have done this. In fact, the success of detracking is likely a result of increased or universal access to rigorous, advanced learning and/or gifted education, not the elimination of these approaches to curriculum and instruction. In some respects, Burris's (Burris & Garity, 2008) school district enacted Ford et al.'s (2021) recommendation, but did so in a highly inclusive way that abandoned the gifted label. Detracking initiatives that funnel everyone into a mediocre and low-level, low-expectation curriculum would unlikely have the same effects.

Because of increased racial segregation between schools, there is often a noted lack of access to rigorous academic curricula in predominantly Black and Brown schools (Patrick et al., 2020), likely due to factors of systemic racism that lead to low expectations among the predominantly white teachers who often teach at these schools (Mechler & Rabinowitz, 2019). Furthermore, ongoing issues with white flight and re-segregation are likely triggered when districts detrack or democratize gifted education; for example, open enrollment policies have resulted in schools and school districts

competing for students (and thus, per-pupil funding) by recruiting such white flight-prone GT families through gifted and advanced educational services (Davis, 2014; Roda, 2015). Such white flight results in the defunding of public school districts due to decreased student enrollment, as well as the removal of capitol often provided by wealthier, and usually white families (Edbuild, 2019; Taylor et al., 2019). The harm that could be caused by quickly and rashly dismantling gifted education programs is real and not to be taken lightly. Therefore, attending to the Downstream effects of tracking is also necessary. As my colleagues and I concluded, the only ethical choice is to attend to both Downstream and Upstream simultaneously.

The Middle Path: Upstream + Downstream: Democratization of Gifted Education

This simultaneous approach could be thought of as a "middle path" (to borrow a concept from Buddhist philosophy), one that combines opportunities for rigorous, advanced learning with a democratized, inclusive approach that opens access to these learning experiences for all students while simultaneously creating the structures to ensure high expectations across the system by eliminating low-level, marginalizing, segregating tracks and replacing them with skills support and differentiation to enable students' success in their advanced coursework or gifted education programming *at the same time*. This is exactly what Greenfield's racial equity transformation plan sought to do. Gifted education, as an exclusive, separate service was eliminated, but project-based, rigorous talent development would be made available to all elementary students through a special course. Advanced programming would still be available at the secondary level, but all students would now be required to participate and consequently, teachers would be

required to meet their needs, something that elicited resistance and concern among some teachers (especially at the secondary level) as described in detail throughout Chapter 6.

Greenfield based much of their rationale and action plan on the work of Yvette Jackson (2011), a Black scholar who had previously served as the Director of Gifted Programs for the New York City public school system. Through her work in gifted education and her research involving concepts from neuroscience, such as the malleable nature of the brain, Jackson developed a framework for leveraging in general education contexts the culture of high expectation which is prevalent in gifted education. She specifically sought to disrupt hegemonic conceptions of intelligence and instead, emphasize the transformative effects of strengths-based learning with high cognitive demand. On a practical level, Jackson's work articulates an approach to making gifted pedagogies and practices accessible to all students within a culturally sustaining framework. I came to think of her work as a "middle path" when I heard her explain at a professional development session held for Greenfield educators that she was also totally supportive of schools having a gifted program. Despite her vehement advocacy for using gifted pedagogies with all students and a career devoted to changing hearts and minds about the nature of giftedness as innate in all humans, she was also comfortable with the notion of a gifted program (so long as it was truly inclusive and did not disrupt the work of bringing a culture of high expectations into every classroom).

What would such a gifted program look like in a system that fully implemented Jackson's vision for a culture of high expectations and access to rigorous, gifted pedagogies for all students? I'm not sure I can answer that, but perhaps such a gifted program would simply be a temporary feature in a longer journey to dismantle tracking;

or perhaps, it would represent some specific, interest-based or talent development service. Regardless, to me, Jackson's assertion that her framework could encompass a gifted program symbolized the pragmatism of the messy world of real education, which was refreshing after four years of the "theoretical purity" I sometimes encountered in the academic environment. A middle way would ensure that access to rigorous advanced learning was not sacrificed at the expense of a hasty dismantlement of racialized tracking, but it also must center the necessary urgency to avoid the pitfalls of incremental change, which often results in wheel spinning. This was the case for GPS before the racial equity transformation, when they had exclusively attended to changing their identification protocols to include more students of color in GT; they made very little progress with this effort over a very long period of time. The middle way would combine detracking with the preservation of access to culturally sustaining, rigorous, enriched curriculum for students of color and other educationally marginalized students.

Engaging Educators in History

My final recommendation for practice based on my research, and one that I have made repeatedly throughout this dissertation, is to engage educators in the history of their fields. Educators need opportunities to explore historiography that reveals how racism and hegemony underscores much of educational history in general, and special and gifted education specifically. The purpose of this historical engagement is to provoke critical interrogation of systems, beliefs, and practices that we often take for granted in education. Either such practices have been scientized or they are so familiar that we don't think to question them. I am no longer surprised when educators tell me they never learned about the history of eugenics in gifted education. I have presented this history to

many educators at this point, and they so often express shock and disbelief combined with guilt that they did not know this history. Not only do I believe that such guilt is unnecessary, but also, I believe it is how we engage the history that really matters. My presentations are not enough to properly engage with this history. I believe that educators must study the history of gifted education closely in order to interrogate internalized beliefs about giftedness, intelligence, and intellectual potential, as well as complicity in racist and hegemonic systems. Educators need to read historical documents and historiographies that synthesize the original beliefs and ideologies that created our systems. And we need to have deep and honest conversations about our own internalizations in safe environments. This is a process of healing internalized hegemonic and damaging beliefs and therefore, it takes time. It is also a process of ultimately arriving at conviction and action, but that arrival cannot be rushed in my experience, or the actions taken will be haphazard. This is not an excuse for incremental change at the expense of dramatic changes that must come now, but it is an invitation to use history in a mindful, transformative manner. White educators' encounter with such histories are necessarily qualitatively different than educators of color. Racial affinity spaces are often helpful in such professional learning processes where discussions can not only be more productive at times, but also more healing (Pour-Khorshid, 2018).

Areas for Future Research: Gifted Education Scholars as Antiracists

The National Association for Gifted Children (Plucker et al., 2020) recently took an explicitly antiracist stance with a particular emphasis on solidarity with Black people, a remarkable turn of events, in my opinion. In their expanded vision and plan of action, the NAGC Board of Directors described,

> We acknowledge the injustices of structural and systemic racism and recognize the field of gifted education has historically been part of the problem by promoting these injustices, even if inadvertently. Some early researchers and thought leaders who influenced the field were involved with the eugenics movement, and gifted identification, programming, and practices often became vehicles for de facto segregation. The field has made tremendous strides in addressing these historical injustices in recent years, but we have not made sufficient progress (para. 3).

While it is hopeful that this organization has taken an antiracist stance, their statement leaves a lot to be desired. It was not "some early researchers" of gifted education who were eugenicists, but its espoused founders, according to NAGC's own website (NAGC, n.d.a) and numerous scholars who have been published in major academic journals of gifted education (Jolly, 2018; Silverman, 1989; VanTassel-Baska, 2013; Warne, 2019). Furthermore, I disagree that the field has made tremendous strides in addressing historical injustices. My analysis of the historiography of eugenics in gifted education revealed a lot of issues with the field's approach to its own history (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 6). Although there have arguably been innovations regarding more democratic theories of giftedness and gifted education over the years of gifted education research, explicit engagement with the field's eugenic history that addresses historical injustices truly seems to represent a gap in the literature. Furthermore, there is little evidence of any significant structural change: white students are still dramatically overrepresented in gifted education programs throughout the country (Ford et al., 2020).

I encourage antiracist scholars of gifted education to go further and to take up critical methodologies, and especially critical historiography, in their methodological approaches to research. I encourage them to more deeply interrogate epistemological assumptions and beliefs that may be artifacts of eugenic ideologies and to speak out against and critique the resurgence of scientific racism among some of its published scholars (e.g., Warne, 2020a, 2020b). I hope that gifted education scholars engage various paradigms of research outside of positivism and post-positivism in qualitative research, as well as critical quantitative research. I hope that gifted education scholars will seek answers to the present-day, seemingly intractable inequities in gifted education in the historical record. I hope they will go beyond the characteristic minimization of this history, or the dismissive claim that we must take the good with the bad, or the assumption that the field has overcome the legacy of eugenics and scientific racism theoretically and practically. The authors asserted that, "In order to move forward, we must be prepared for challenging conversations about our past as an association and as a field" (para. 5). I challenge these authors and other gifted education scholars not only to be prepared for such conversations, but to lead them; to be the unapologetic interrogators of their own field and to value antiracist praxis over the traditions and dogmas of gifted education.

I believe it may be possible for gifted education scholars to transform the field into an antiracist one by redefining giftedness in dramatically new and paradigmatically shifting ways. If the field is concerned with human brilliance and the pedagogies that nurture it in order to create a pluralistic, antiracist, democratic, equitable and healed society, then it may be capable of producing powerful work. What if the field redefined

giftedness as developable and inherent in everyone? Would there still be a field? Owen Lo et al.'s (2019) article, "Giftedness in the Making: A Transactional Perspective," provided a flavor of this possibility. In it, the authors not only described "giftedness" as a social construction rooted in a history of eugenic ideology, but reimagined giftedness as a process-oriented conceptualization they described as transactional: "a transactional view of giftedness highlights dynamic flows and the relational nature between a person and the context where he/she is situated" (p. 174). In other words, rather than seeing some as gifted and others as not gifted, the authors highlighted educational efforts that could result in general education itself becoming more "gifted." The authors described the implications for practice inherent in such a refined perspective of giftedness:

> This process-focused ideology naturally speaks to a growth- mindset orientation (Dweck, 2006; Tirri, 2016) in that it highlights the potential and growing nature of human possibilities. Therefore, giftedness is conceptualized as a lived process that can be reflected on and examined formatively. In this light, giftedness also becomes "a pedagogical goal achievable by all rather than measurable predictions for some" (Lo & Porath, as cited in Lo et al., 2019, p. 176).

Lo et al.'s vision for a transactional perspective of giftedness echoes Jackson's (2011) practical framework for implementing high expectation pedagogies based on this model of giftedness. This work represents fertile ground for transforming the field of gifted education into a truly liberatory area of educational research that could innovate pedagogical theories and practices concerning brilliance, interest, passion, and excellence within a critical, antiracist framework. Yet the field could only actualize such a transformation by first fully integrating the legacy of its own racist, eugenic history, and

successfully dismantling the relics of these hegemonic ideologies throughout the U.S. school system.

Conclusion: Yes, the Future Can be Different

I once worked in a beautiful, historical landmark building with enormous Doric columns and elaborate stained glass paneling. Although the building had been renovated multiple times, many of the original features still remained. In fact, the owners were required to maintain certain antique architectural elements because the building had been designated as a historic landmark, something that gave it incredible interest and appeal, but could also be quite expensive to maintain. Unfortunately, the original foundation of the building was crumbling, sinking, and deteriorating. After repair estimates came in, the managers discovered that an astronomical amount of money would be required to fix the foundation. They were faced with a very difficult decision: have the building demolished and start the company over in another less grand and meaningful location, or find a way to raise the money and hope the repairs would hold over time.

I like to envision the field of gifted education in the United States as a large and elaborate 1920s-era, art deco, architectural landmark. It is well known (and controversial) in the community. It has interesting features as well as major renovations and additions, such as the wing where talent development (Treffinger & Feldhusen, 1998) is housed or the gable dormer, where new theories of intelligence are constructed (Sternberg, 2015). But it also has spooky, haunted, and oppressive spaces— especially the basement, where after a rainstorm, the subtle stink from the rotten foundation seeps up, suggesting the possibility of a dead carcass rotting underneath. No one likes to go down there; most people who work in the building try to put it out of their minds and not worry about that

stench when it wafts by, that possibly something is wrong down there. They like to consider the problems they're having on the upper floors: a touch of paint here, a new window pane there, and everything will be good as new. But as any building owner of an antique relic will tell you, there's nothing that can solve a rotten foundation other than dealing with it directly and facing the music.

In many respects, this is the work that the GT Design Team and Greenfield Public Schools' leaders faced. They decided to look directly at the foundation. To go down to the basement, pinching their noses because of the smells, taking a good hard look at the damage, the instability, the rot. This foundation included the eugenic history of the field of gifted education, as well as the additional layers of fieldstone and concrete Greenfield itself had laid out and built up years ago from the original subsurface. Although this rotten foundation was untenable, the building itself had features worth salvaging. In the same way that beautiful stained glass paneling and old archways of architectural landmarks can be saved and repurposed, Greenfield sought to reclaim and repurpose these components. In the spring of 2021, they let the community know that the building was coming down, but that the features worth keeping would be salvaged. This time, however, they would be shared with everyone, and not locked up in that stinky old building.

As I conclude this project, the future of Greenfield's racial equity transformation process that will usher in a new, detracked gifted education program, remains unknown. The new program will provide interest-based, rigorous, talent development learning opportunities to every elementary student and access to advanced academics to every secondary student. The plan has been to actualize Jackson's (2011) framework for a

culture of high expectations that redistributes the resources of gifted education as rigorous and enriched pedagogies across the school system. Although the school board was supportive and no major threats to the plan's implementation have appeared on the horizon, we do not yet know if it will be successful and if it will stand the test of time. The GT Design Team members hoped that they would be able to provide the support that teachers would need to effectively teach high-rigor curriculum in a detracked system and to differentiate instruction in inclusive classrooms. And they hoped that they would be able to collect and use a range of data (i.e., engagement, enjoyment, as well as academic achievement data) to show the effects of these changes to the community and to course correct as needed by providing educational supports to teachers and leaders. They hoped the political will to sustain this change would remain intact.

GPS educators and especially, the GT Design Team members are not alone in their efforts to make dramatic changes to gifted and advanced programming in order to disrupt racialization, racial inequity in academic achievement and racial segregation. The 2020 to 2021 school year has been a time in which many reckonings and reexaminations of historically rooted power dynamics and longstanding oppressive systems in education are being reexamined with renewed interest and motivation across the country. Yet these have also been politically polarized times, and many states have now implemented laws that prohibit the use of antiracist curriculum (Edweek, 2021). It is a particularly fraught time in which the felt sense of the American historical legacy of slavery, oppression and genocide is redolent as the country slowly transitions from a demography dominated by the phenotypically white, to a country where a majority of Black and Brown people represent the democratic electorate. This is a time in which critical histories are both

desperately needed and considered deeply threatening. And it is a time in which gifted education in Greenfield Public Schools, as well as in the many school systems across the United States, has the potential to become something new.

In my final discussions with the members of the GPS GT Design Team, they shared their reflections on the process they underwent and their hopes and fears as they looked toward the future. Mary offered her thoughts regarding how affecting inequities in gifted education required attention to the entire system:

> I personally believe that change requires whole system change. I believe that this plan really forced a shake up for systemic change. I still have concerns about some of the pieces and how they're linked together, but I think in terms of making significant change this is promising" (Interview, July, 19, 2021).

Reflecting on a long teaching career, Max expressed some tentative concerns:

> I hope that we don't stop the process with what we've put in place so far. Sustainability is always such a big deal— that it sustains and changes over time. A lot of the time, we aren't very good at creating systems that are adaptive. We run it for a while and then it kind of loses steam (Interview, July, 16, 2021).

Thomas reflected on the success of positioning teachers as leaders, and of emphasizing rationale and belief over technical solutions in the racial equity transformation process:

> It's the adaptive nature of having (both the) patience with the development of a team, and the urgency to say, "We're going to transform the system." The urgency is key, but there was also a sense of patience: "I hope you get to it sooner or later!" We've also had this personal connection… The design teams presented to the school board on something personal and shared a collective vision: Here's

> who we are, here's why we're doing this, here's what we should be doing… There was almost a feeling of relief from the board. We finally made these changes. We're grateful! (Interview, July, 12, 2021).

Sarah offered personal reflections on how to gain courage as teacher leader of disruptive change. She underscored the relational nature of racial equity work in a school system:

> This work is hard. Any time we're disrupting and agitating there's going to be push back and challenge. It's easy to get deflated. When we ground ourselves in our "why," it brings energy for doing this work. It gives courage. I've gotten feedback from people that just hearing our why's and our stories, hearing those narratives and personalization, is very powerful. More powerful than the facts. We can see ourselves in stories, see our humanity verses just data or numbers. It's humanizing. (Interview, July 20, 2021).

And Gale was filled with hope and possibility:

> I'm most hopeful about the actualization of our new talent development teachers. I am overjoyed with the new teachers. The teachers who've been chosen are some of the best teachers in our district. They walk in this belief that children deserve the very best. Now everyone has access to cool stuff and the sky's the limit on amazing opportunities! Every kid wants that. Every kid wants you to show them the yellow brick road.

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Appendix

Figure 8.

Bright vs. Gifted

BRIGHT CHILD/GIFTED LEARNER

by Janice Szabo

BRIGHT CHILD	GIFTED LEARNER
Knows the answers	Asks the questions
Is interested	Is highly curious
Is attentive	Is mentally and physically involved
Has good ideas	Has wild, silly ideas
Works hard	Plays around, yet tests well
Answers the questions	Discusses in detail, elaborates
Top group	Beyond the group
Listens with interest	Shows strong feelings and opinions
Learns with ease	Already knows
6-8 repetitions for mastery	1-2 repetitions for mastery
Understands ideas	Constructs abstractions
Enjoys peers	Prefers adults
Grasps the meaning	Draws inferences
Completes assignments	Initiates projects
Is receptive	Is intense
Copies accurately	Creates a new design
Enjoys school	Enjoys learning
Absorbs information	Manipulates information
Technician	Inventor
Good memorizer	Good guesser
Enjoys straightforward	Thrives on complexity
Is alert	Is keenly observant
Is pleased with own learning	Is highly self-critical

"These lists are presented as guidelines, not as absolutes. A gifted child may not exhibit all of these qualities or may exhibit some in both columns. It is important for teachers to be aware that when any of these qualities are exhibited in a child, then it is reason to continue to watch the child, perhaps provide opportunities for using more complex ideas, and ask questions about unusual ideas shared by this child. Think of this as talent development, not formal identification but perhaps a rationale for screening for gifted services."

Format modified by K. Rumley, Kent City Schools

Note. Retrieved from https://www.kentschools.net/gifted/files/2014/12/BRIGHT-CHILD.-Gifted-Learner-1.pdf

Selected Interview Questions used with GPS Educators

1. Would you tell me a bit about your story in teaching— how did you get started with the district and ultimately end up working in GT (or current role)?
2. How do you think GT has changed over time in the district? What was it like in the beginning and has anything shifted, from your perspective?
3. Are there any other major changes you've seen in the district over time? What sorts of things do you think have really remained constants?
4. What does "giftedness" mean to you?

   [Follow up—what do you see as being the qualities of a gifted child?]
5. What do you think "gifted and talented" means to other people in your community? Are there any differences in the ways that teachers, parents, students and administrators think about giftedness in (_____)?
6. What do you think are some misconceptions people have about giftedness?
7. What memories do you have of gifted education/GT (from your own experience as a student or as a teacher) that seem particularly important to you?
8. Can you tell me about a time that you had concerns about GT?
9. What do you see as the relationship between GT and racism, or other kinds of oppression in the district?
10. How have your thoughts, feelings, and questions about GT changed over time?
11. What would you most like to see happen regarding GT programming in the district? What do you think would be the best possible future for children in the district?
12. What do you still feel uncertain or confused about when it comes to GT?

Selected Interview Questions used with GPS Administrators

1. Would you tell me a bit about your story as an administrator? What has your journey in educational leadership been like?
2. How have you evolved or changed in your antiracist practices and beliefs over time as an educational leader?
3. What principles tend to guide your theory and practice of leadership in your current role?
4. What does "giftedness" mean to you?
5. [Follow up—what do you see as being the qualities of a gifted child?]
6. What do you think "gifted and talented" means to other people in your community? Are there any differences in the ways that teachers, parents, students and administrators think about giftedness in (_____)?
7. What do you see as the relationship between GT or AA and racism, or other kinds of oppression in the district?
8. How have your thoughts, feelings, and questions about GT changed over time?
9. What would you most like to see happen regarding GT programming in the district? What do you think would be the best possible future for the district?
10. What do you still feel uncertain or confused about when it comes to GT/AA?
11. Do you have any memories from the last couple of years around leading or prompting change or transformation in GT or advanced academics that seem particularly pivotal?

Table 3.

Sampled Documents from the Lewis Madison Terman Papers[34]

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 1: Correspondence	1	7	1924 October	Letter Peterson to Terman
Series 1: Correspondence	1	7	1925 January	Letter- Terman to Peterson
Series 1: Correspondence	1	41	1925	Membership card
Series 1: Correspondence	1	41	1925 December	Letter- Commonwealth Club Chairman to Terman
Series 1: Correspondence	1	41	1925 December	Letter- Goethe to Terman and reply
Series 1: Correspondence	1	41	1926 January	Meeting minutes from Commonwealth Club of California
Series 1: Correspondence	1	41	1927 March	Letter- Commonwealth; Stewart Ward to Terman and reply
Series 1: Correspondence	1	41	1935 July	Letter- Terman to Commonwealth Club
Series 1: Correspondence	2	4	1925 April	Letter- Terman to Whitney
Series 1: Correspondence	2	4	1931 June	Letter- Terman to Davenport

[34] There was not exact correspondence between the finding aid and the actual documents within series and folders. Therefore, I have reported exactly where I found each document as of summer 2019 when this archival research was conducted.

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 1: Correspondence	2	4	n.d.	Letter- Fisher to Terman
Series 1: Correspondence	2	4	n.d.	Letter- From Fisher
Series 1: Correspondence	2	5	1925	Letter- Davenport to Terman and reply
Series 1: Correspondence	2	5	1931 June	Letter- Terman to Davenport
Series 1: Correspondence	2	5	1931 May	Letter- Davenport to Terman
Series 1: Correspondence	2	5	1932 February	Letter Laughlin to Terman
Series 1: Correspondence	2	5	1932 June	Agenda- Third International Eugenics Conference
Series 1: Correspondence	2	5	n.d.	Report
Series 1: Correspondence	2	19	1929 March	Letter-Walter Tulley and Terman reply
Series 1: Correspondence	3	1	1924 August	Letter-Correspondence to Elba Johnson
Series 1: Correspondence	3	1	1925 December	Letter-Elba Johnson (teacher) and reply; also earlier reply Terman accepting offer to lunch

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 1: Correspondence	3	1	1925 August	Letter-Correspondence to A.S. Raubenheimer
Series 1: Correspondence	3	1	1933 December	Letter-Alvin Johnson of social science dept.; The New School, NYC, and reply
Series 1: Correspondence	3	1	1935 June	Letter-Alvin Johnson of social science dept.; The New School, NYC, and reply
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921	Letter- Kazaki to Terman, Terman to Dr. Wilbur of Stanford
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921	Letter- Terman to Kanzaki
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1923	Letter- Calvert Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to Depart of Psychology at Stanford
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921 April	Letter- Kanzaki to Terman
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921 August	Letter- Anesaki to Takimoto (copy)

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921 June	Letter- Stanford president to Takimoto, Japanese Association
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921 November	Letter Dorsi to Terman and reply
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921 October	Letter Dorsi to Terman and reply
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1921 September	Letter Kanazaki to Terman
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1923 October	Letter- Davis to Terman and reply
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	n.d.	Report- The Oriental Survey of the Pacific Coast and Hawaii
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	n.d.	Report- proposal for study of Japanese
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	n.d.	Report- preliminary findings of Japanese children's mental capacity
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	1	1922 January	Research outline
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	2	n.d.	Interview transcript

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	6	1948	Letter- Goodenough to Terman and reply
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	6	1948	Letter Terman to Goodenough
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	6	1948 August	Letter- Goodenough to Terman and reply
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	6	1949 April	Letter- Goodenough to Terman
Series 3: Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Material	8	6	n.d.	Reprinted article
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	12	n.d.	Article
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1936	Pamphlet
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1922 February	Letter-Terman to Fred Dohrmann
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1929 November	Letter from Gosney to Terman: Communications with the Human Betterment Foundation
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1931 January	Letter from Terman to Popenoe
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data,	12	13	1931 April	Letter-Popenoe to Terman

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Correspondence, Examples and Keys				
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	ca. 1932	Report-First Annual Report of the Human Betterment Foundation
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1934 February	Letter to Popenoe from Terman and his reply
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1938 April	Letter-Gosney to and from Terman
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	1938 April	Letter-Gosney to Terman
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	ca. 1940	Letter- Terman to Gosney
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	13	n.d.	Report-Annual Report of the Human Betterment Foundation
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	17	1932 May	Letter-RC Cook to Terman and reply
Series 7: Testing: Miscellaneous Data, Correspondence, Examples and Keys	12	17	n.d.	Pamphlet from Junior Foundation
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	11	1925 April	Letter- Bantu to Terman

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	11	1929 November	Letter-Corresponce from Arthur M. "Bantu"
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	24	1944 March	Article- Barbara Stoddard Burks; Psychological Review
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	27	1950, February	Letter- Terman to Cattell
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1952	Letter- Terman to Blacker
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1952	Letter- series between Terman and Blacker
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1924 Janurary	Letter- Eugenics Committee of the U.S. to Terman and confirmation from Davenport
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1926 June	Receipt-Membership to Eugenics Society Inc.
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1926 March	Letter- Whitney; Eugenics Society of America to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1930 May	Letter- Ives to Terman

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1930 June	Letter- Whitney to Terman and his reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1931 January	Letter- Whitney to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1935 June	Letter- Terman to American Eugenics Society
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1938 May, August	Letter- Edwin Wilson to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1950 February	Letter- Terman to Blacker
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1951-52	Report- The Eugenics Society
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1951 March	Letter- Blacker to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1951 May	Letter- Terman to Blacker
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1952 June	Letter- Blacker to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1952 August	Letter- Blacker to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1952 July	Article- draft of a review of Blacker's book

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
				Eugenics Today, author not shown
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	1953 October	Letter- Terman to Blacker and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	13	41	n.d.	Letter- Terman to Whitney
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	18	1954, n.d.	Letter- 2 letters from Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1955	Letter- Goethe to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	ca. 1943	Pamphlet
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1947 September	Letter- Goethe to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1949 April	Letter- Goethe to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	ca. 1949-1950	Pamphlet
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	ca. 1950	Research proposal
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1950 March	Letter- Terman to Goethe
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1950 May	Letter- 2 letters: one from Goethe to Terman; 1 from Terman to Sheldon Reed

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1951 March	Letter- Stanford Libraries to Goethe and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1952 April	Letter- Goethe to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1952 March	Letter: Goethe to W.P. Shepperd of NAGC
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1953 August	Letter- Goethe to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1953 August	Letter- California Historical Society to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1953 February	Letter- Terman to Goethe
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1953 August	Letter- Goethe to the California Historical Society
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1953 February	Letter- Goethe to Ruth Hughes, State Secretary of CSF, Del Norte Union High School
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1954 April	Letter- Goethe to Dr. Visher of Indiana University

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1954 September	Letter- Goethe to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1954 September	Letter- Goethe to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1955 and 1956	Letter- Goethe to Terman (2)
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1956 and 1957	Letters- Goethe to Terman and wife
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1956 August	Letter- Swank, library director to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1956 August	Letter- Goethe to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1956 July	Letter- Goethe to a Stanford graduate student, Mr. Carhart
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1956 July	Letters- Terman to Goethe and to a reply from David Jacobson, General Secretary at Stanford
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	1956 July	Letter- Terman to RC Swank, director of Stanford Library

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	n.d.	Pamphlet- eugenics
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	n.d.	Pamphlet- eugenics
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	21	n.d.	Pamphlet- eugenics
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	38	1921 June	Letter- Hollingworth to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	38	1922 January	Letter- Hollingworth to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	38	193_ August	Letter- Hollingworth to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	38	n.d. (ca. 1920s)	Letter- Terman to Hollingworth
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	14	41	1947 February	Letter- Series between Terman and Blacker concerning publication of Terman's article
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	15	30	1925 January	Letter Joseph Peterson to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	15	30	1949 April	Letter English to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	15	30	1949 April and May	Letter- 2 from Terman to English

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1922	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1922	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1922	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1922 December	Letter- Snow to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1922 September	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1922 October	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	1923 February	Letter Conklin to Terman
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	3	n.d.	Newspaper clipping

Series	Box	Folder	Date	Doc Type
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	16	6	1946 November	Letter- Terman to Thorndike
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	17	2	1922	Letter- Yerkes to Terman and reply
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	17	2	1923 January	Letter- Terman to Yerkes
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	17	3	1949 June	Letter- Terman to Yerkes
Series 8: Personal and Professional Correspondence	17	3	1949 June	Letter- Terman to Yerkes